



Why Obama  
Needs to Step Up  
On Health Care

How Congress  
Is Wasting Its Time  
On the CIA



Teen Harry:  
Turmoil and  
Testosterone

# TIME

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF APOLLO 11

## Moonstruck

A close-up look at the 24 men who made the voyage—  
and how their lives were changed forever.

By Apollo 13 co-author **Jeffrey Kluger**



IMAGINE THIS BLISTERING RASH ALONG WITH STABBING PAIN



AND YOU'LL HAVE AN IDEA OF  
WHAT IT CAN BE LIKE TO HAVE SHINGLES.



For more information on the availability of ZOSTAVAX through the Merck Vaccine Patient Assistance Program, visit [ZOSTAVAX.com/freevaccines](http://ZOSTAVAX.com/freevaccines) or call 1-877-9 SHINGLES.



## **IF YOU HAD CHICKENPOX AS A CHILD, YOU COULD GET SHINGLES NOW.**

### **The chickenpox virus is still in your body.**

It can resurface as Shingles, a painful, blistering rash. The Shingles rash usually lasts up to 30 days, and for most the pain lessens as the rash heals. But some people who develop Shingles experience long-term pain that can last for months, even years.

### **ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that can help prevent Shingles.**

ZOSTAVAX is used to prevent Shingles in adults 60 years of age or older. Once you reach age 60, the sooner you get vaccinated, the better your chances of protecting yourself from Shingles. ZOSTAVAX is given as a single shot. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat Shingles, or the nerve pain that may follow Shingles, once you have it. Talk to your health care professional to see if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

### **Important Safety Information**

ZOSTAVAX may not fully protect everyone who gets the vaccine. You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you are allergic to any of its ingredients, including gelatin and neomycin, have a weakened immune system, take high doses of steroids, or are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Possible side effects include redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising at the injection site, as well as headache. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088. Before getting vaccinated, talk to your health care professional about situations you may need to avoid after getting ZOSTAVAX. Please see the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.

Before you get **Shingles**, ask about ZOSTAVAX.

**ZOSTAVAX<sup>®</sup>**  
Zoster Vaccine Live

[www.zostavax.com](http://www.zostavax.com)

## Patient Information about ZOSTAVAX® (pronounced "ZOS tah vax")

Generic name: Zoster Vaccine Live

You should read this summary of information about ZOSTAVAX<sup>1</sup> before you are vaccinated. If you have any questions about ZOSTAVAX after reading this leaflet, you should ask your health care provider. This information does not take the place of talking about ZOSTAVAX with your doctor, nurse, or other health care provider. Only your health care provider can decide if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

### **What is ZOSTAVAX and how does it work?**

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that is used for adults 60 years of age or older to prevent shingles (also known as zoster).

ZOSTAVAX contains a weakened chickenpox virus (varicella-zoster virus).

ZOSTAVAX works by helping your immune system protect you from getting shingles. If you do get shingles even though you have been vaccinated, ZOSTAVAX may help prevent the nerve pain that can follow shingles in some people.

ZOSTAVAX may not protect everyone who gets the vaccine. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat shingles once you have it.

### **What do I need to know about shingles and the virus that causes it?**

Shingles is caused by the same virus that causes chickenpox. Once you have had chickenpox, the virus can stay in your nervous system for many years. For reasons that are not fully understood, the virus may become active again and give you shingles. Age and problems with the immune system may increase your chances of getting shingles.

Shingles is a rash that is usually on one side of the body. The rash begins as a cluster of small red spots that often blister. The rash can be painful. Shingles rashes usually last up to 30 days and, for most people, the pain associated with the rash lessens as it heals.

### **Who should not get ZOSTAVAX?**

You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you:

- are allergic to any of its ingredients.
- are allergic to gelatin or neomycin.
- have a weakened immune system (for example, an immune deficiency, leukemia, lymphoma, or HIV/AIDS).
- take high doses of steroids by injection or by mouth.
- are pregnant or plan to get pregnant.

You should not get ZOSTAVAX to prevent chickenpox.

Children should not get ZOSTAVAX.

### **How is ZOSTAVAX given?**

ZOSTAVAX is given as a single dose by injection under the skin.

### **What should I tell my health care provider before I get ZOSTAVAX?**

You should tell your health care provider if you:

- have or have had any medical problems.
- take any medicines, including nonprescription medicines, and dietary supplements.
- have any allergies, including allergies to neomycin or gelatin.
- had an allergic reaction to another vaccine.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breast-feeding.

Tell your health care provider if you expect to be in close contact (including household contact) with newborn infants, someone who may be pregnant and has not had chickenpox or been vaccinated against chickenpox, or someone who has problems with their immune system. Your health care provider can tell you what situations you may need to avoid.

### **What are the possible side effects of ZOSTAVAX?**

The most common side effects that people in the clinical studies reported after receiving the vaccine include:

- redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising where the shot was given.
- headache.

The following additional side effects have been reported in general use with ZOSTAVAX:

- allergic reactions, which may be serious and may include difficulty in breathing or swallowing. If you have an allergic reaction, call your doctor right away.
- fever
- rash
- swollen glands near the injection site (that may last a few days to a few weeks)

Tell your health care provider if you have any new or unusual symptoms after you receive ZOSTAVAX.

### **What are the ingredients of ZOSTAVAX?**

Active Ingredient: a weakened form of the varicella-zoster virus.

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, hydrolyzed porcine gelatin, sodium chloride, monosodium L-glutamate, sodium phosphate dibasic, potassium phosphate monobasic, potassium chloride.

### **What else should I know about ZOSTAVAX?**

Vaccinees and their health care providers are encouraged to call (800) 986-8999 to report any exposure to ZOSTAVAX during pregnancy.

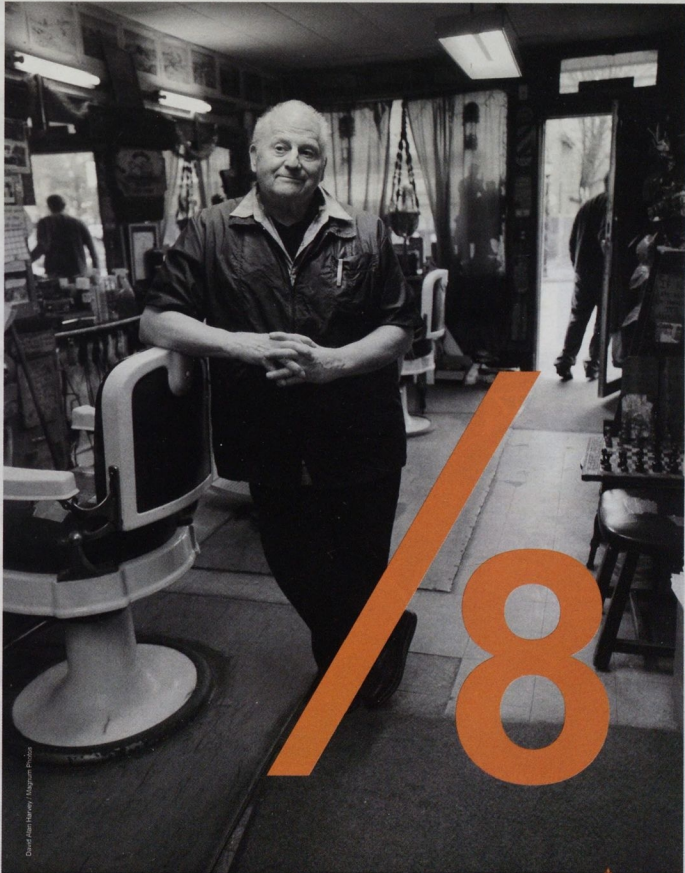
This leaflet summarizes important information about ZOSTAVAX.

If you would like more information, talk to your health care provider or visit the website at [www.ZOSTAVAX.com](http://www.ZOSTAVAX.com) or call 1-800-622-4477.

**Rx only**

Issued December 2008

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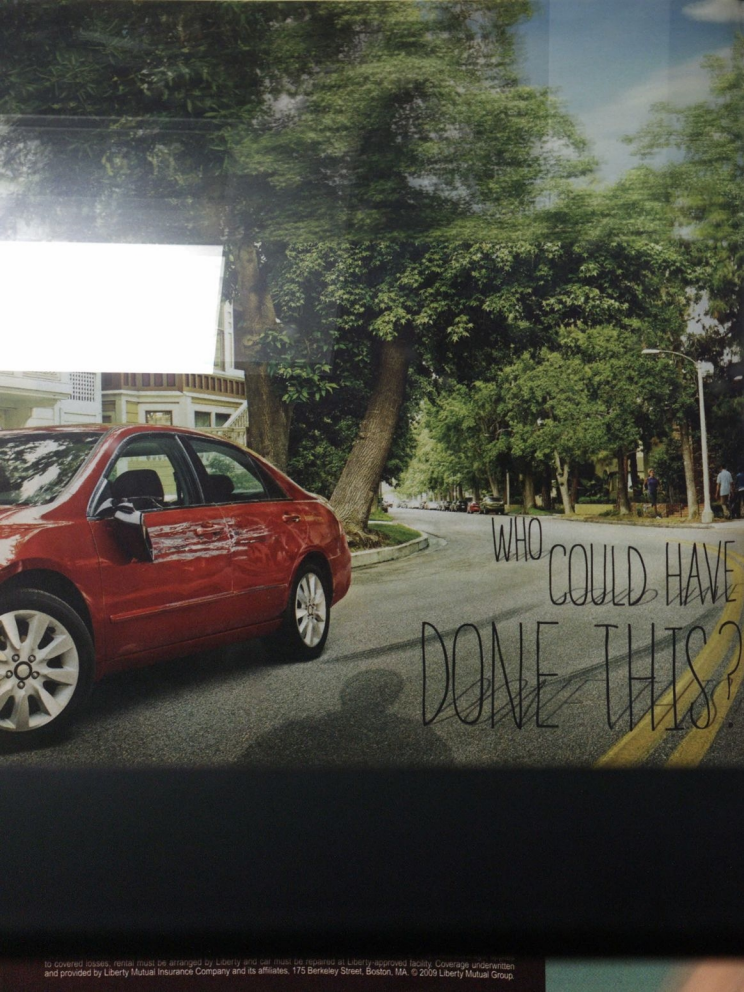


David Alan Harvey / Magnum Photos



1 in 8 Americans is struggling with hunger. Including people like your barber, the person who stocks the shelves at the grocery store, or the man who sells parts at the auto store. Who's the 1 in 8 in your life that needs help? Go to [feedingamerica.org](http://feedingamerica.org) to see how your support can help those in need.

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AMERICA**  
Formerly named  
America's Second Harvest



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DONE THIS?







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On the cover: Photograph by Corbis. Insets, from left: Brooks Kraft—Corbis for TIME; Warner Bros.

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# 10 Questions.

As the sixth *Harry Potter* film opens, its star reveals his character's flaws.

## Daniel Radcliffe will now take your questions



### Next Questions

Ask Mehmet Oz your questions for an upcoming interview, at [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

How different are you from Harry?

Atra Oshana  
DES PLAINES, ILL.

I think I am probably quite different from Harry. [But] I think we're both quite reserved in terms of how much we show our feelings. Neither of us particularly wears our heart on our sleeve. The value of friendship in both our lives is immense. And I also think we have a shared curiosity.

What do you think has been Harry's greatest misstep or failure in judgment?

Susan Bevins  
WINTER PARK, FLA.

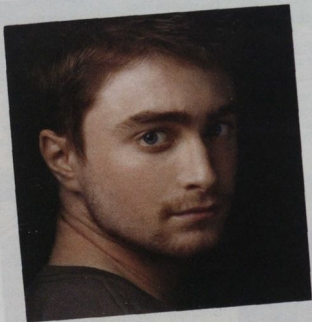
Susan Bevins, you have asked a question no journalist has ever asked me. I think the way he treated his friends a couple of films ago was quite questionable. They're always there for him, and he was a little bit ungrateful. I think Harry is a flawed character. He can be quite selfish and really manipulative. He's not all sweetness and light.

The *Harry Potter* films have given you a chance to work with an extraordinary number of British acting royalty. Which ones have had the greatest effect on you?

Frank Hibrant  
CINCINNATI, OHIO

The two that have had the biggest effect on me would be Gary Oldman, who I became very close to, and Imelda Staunton. They're both wonderful people and wonderful actors.

Both *Half-Blood Prince* and *Deathly Hallows* are quite different from previous install-



*Harry is my face, even there!*  
*Daniel Radcliffe Agest*

ments. How have you prepared yourself for the plot's darker, deeper scenes?

Josh Hertz, OMAHA, NEB.  
To be honest, that's the kind of stuff I like doing and gravitate toward naturally. It probably comes easier to me than the comedy. On those days, I generally try to be as isolated as possible and listen to lots of music that will hopefully kind of depress me or get me into a less exuberant state.

If you could use any of the magical spells from *Harry Potter*, which would you choose?

Sohini Desai, SAN DIEGO  
It's not a spell, but if I could choose any magical thing, it would definitely be the lucky potion. If you have too much, apparently, it screws you up,

but the idea of having that perfect day is just so wonderful.

Are you a *Harry Potter* fan?

Rochely Candaten Drove  
PORTO ALEGRE, BRAZIL

I am a fan of the books, certainly. In terms of the films, I enjoy watching everyone but myself very, very much. I don't like watching myself. I don't think many actors do. But, yeah, I am a fan. If I weren't, I would've stopped ages ago.

What do you think about the way J.K. Rowling formed the plots of the books?

Frances Taylor  
SARNIA, ONT.

Obviously, it's inspired. Otherwise, they wouldn't have done nearly as well as

they have. They have taken the best bits of different kinds of literature. It's the latest in a long line of orphan literature. There's the English boarding school. There's the good-vs.-evil thing. The fact that she came up with the entire thing on one train journey is pretty remarkable.

How would you advise someone to prepare for the role of Alan in *Equus*?

José Pérez, BARCELONA

Study the script, develop an incredibly trusting relationship with your director and just lose your inhibitions. No one's thinking about the nudity. You'd be mad if you're not worried about that—it's quite a scary thing—but you're doing a job.

Do you plan to go to college?

Lindsay Carpenter, MILWAUKEE  
No, I don't. I am continuing my education. I have two weekly tutorials with a friend of mine who is also an English teacher. He comes on set and we talk through plays and books and poems. It's a privilege.

Would you ever commit to the lead role in a movie series again?

Danielle Higson  
ST. JOHN'S, Nfld.

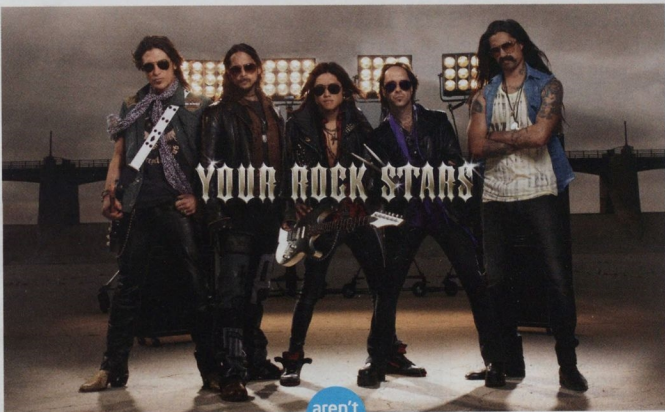
It would be very hard to do that in a hurry. I think it would be a while, at least, before I did that. It would have to be very good.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

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# Postcard: Bristol Bay. Alaska was built on harvesting nature, but a proposed mine near valuable fishing grounds is causing some to think green. **The fight to stop the Pebble Mine**

BY BRYAN WALSH

  
**Global Dispatch**  
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**T**HEO CHESLEY NOSES HIS SIX-SEAT turboprop into a drizzly wind and levels off, soaring above the rich, silty veins of the Nushagak River in southwestern Alaska. The Nushagak is a salmon highway. To the west, its waters flow into Bristol Bay, home of the richest commercial-fishing grounds left in the U.S. About 40% of the wild seafood caught in the U.S. is fished right here.

To the northeast, however, something is growing that could change that. Some 100 miles upstream is the proposed site of what would be one of the largest mines in the world. The Pebble Mine, if it goes forward, could produce copper and gold worth more than \$300 billion at current market prices. But opponents say its development poses a toxic threat to Bristol Bay's rich fishing grounds—and to a way of life that dates back centuries. "There's a whole lot of land and water in harm's way," says Chesley, a salmon fisherman when he's not flying charters. "I'm not an environmentalist, but I do give a s— about the land."

For most of Alaska's history, the environment has been an afterthought on the road to exploitation. From the arrival of Russian fur trappers in the 1780s, the Last Frontier has been a rich trove of resources. Today oil and natural gas provide more than 85% of the state's revenues, along with a royalty check for nearly every one of Alaska's 686,000 residents. "Being against development here is literally the third rail of politics," says Bryce Edgmon, an Alaska state representative from Bristol Bay.

Recently, however, a surprisingly diverse coalition has arisen to stop the Pebble Mine. Environmental groups like the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) are making common cause with fishermen and native Alaskans who fear that pollution from the mine could ruin their livelihoods. Sustainability—the idea that there are alternatives to exploit-



**The Last Frontier** Bristol Bay's stocked waters have nourished Alaskans for generations

ing natural resources without regard for the consequences—is no longer such a suspicious term. "Do we want to embrace the mine, a resource that will be played out in 50 years?" says Verner Wilson, a Yupik Eskimo and Bristol Bay native who works with WWF. "Or do we want to embrace a resource like the fish that we can manage for thousands of years?"

It helps that fishing is what defines Bristol Bay. At the main port of Dillingham, the biggest news story of early summer is the catching of the first king salmon of the season. Bristol Bay's commercial fishermen—including the stars of the Discovery Channel reality show *The Deadliest Catch*—net hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of seafood.

But everyone fishes—Todd Palin, Alaska's First Dude and a Dillingham native, has a reserved spot on a local beach.

Those opposed to the mine argue that tailings and other discharges from the Pebble project will contaminate nearby waters and harm the sensitive salmon that swim upstream to spawn. The mining industry argues that Pebble can be

developed without serious risk to the environment. "We're conducting one of the largest environmental study programs in Alaska's history," notes John Shively, CEO of the Pebble Partnership, which is overseeing the project. Moreover, the Pebble Mine offers the potential for new jobs—which are vitally needed in a region where steady employment can be hard to find, especially for Alaskan natives. "It's a battle between traditional culture and the modern world," says Ralph Anderson, president of the Bristol Bay Native Association. "I don't know if we can reconcile them."

For now, the future of the Pebble Mine is still up in the air. A ballot initiative designed in part to stop the mine failed at the polls last summer, but the project is only in its exploratory stages. Either way, Alaskans are beginning to realize that unchecked resource exploitation can't last forever. "There has to be an alternative view that we can help the community with an environmental economy," says Terry Hoeffler, executive director of Nunamta Aulukestai, an anti-Pebble group. Even the Last Frontier has its ecological limits.



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## Forever Together

I APPLAUD *TIME* AND CAITLIN FLANAGAN for highlighting the strong case for marriage [July 13]. Admonishing us to embrace "hard work and self-sacrifice" may not make a very sexy story, but it is refreshing. Flanagan presents the bald truth: marriage is the best foundation for children. Just as the media have shifted their focus toward decidedly nonsexy financial stories about hard work and saving, it is time for more truth-telling about marriage, sexual relationships and family—including the profound benefits of pouring oneself into a lifelong marital partnership.

Mandi Mangler, FAIR LAWN, N.J.

FLANAGAN GROSSLY UNDERSTATES the complexity of the causes of infidelity and divorce in the U.S. The world is not divided between loving couples and divorced "casual sadists" who don't care about their kids. Many parents continue to care for and nourish their children, as my ex-wife and I do our daughter, and have a decent relationship with each other. Flanagan avoids entirely the subject of spouses' irresponsible acts other than infidelity and misses the point that when the failings of one or both parents, including extreme ones like spousal abusiveness and alcoholism, make for a miserable environment for their children, it is more sadistic to stay together than to divorce and try again.

George Kalmar, PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

I WAS SURPRISED THAT YOU DID NOT MENTION the obvious cause of the problem for marriage today: gay marriage. The far right has long insisted that allowing gay marriage would ruin the institution of marriage. Now that several states have made gay marriage legal, I guess we can all see the terrible chaos (forgive the sarcasm) it has caused.

Karen Baker, COTTAGE GROVE, WIS.

YOUR ARTICLE DISPARAGES SINGLE PARENTS and poor women who choose not to marry. It reads as opinion, not news.

Shannon Sawicki, SAN FRANCISCO

FLANAGAN'S OUTRIGHT DISMISSAL of marriage without children is insulting. My husband of 31 years and I—who by choice have no children—share interests, values and a sense of humor. Marriage also matters to couples who wed for other reasons.

Irene Burkhard, BECKET, MASS.

AS A CHILD OF A 37-YEAR MARRIAGE THAT survived only because my parents were "too stubborn" (their words) to let it go, I agree that the reward for "hard work and self-sacrifice" is a lasting marriage. It is what I hope for and what I will work hard for.

Sally Inman, DALLAS

ONCE AGAIN, I NOTICE A MAJOR STORY THAT reads as if I, a gay man, do not exist. Today such an omission is inexcusable.

Clifton Snider, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

**'The true tragedy of Michael Jackson's life is that someone so giving could not let those who loved him near enough to help him.'**

Carolyn Brown, APPLETON, MAINE



Lost life *TIME*'s July 13 remembrance of Jackson struck a chord with readers

## YOU'RE STILL THE ONE

COINCIDENTALLY, THE JULY 13 ISSUE arrived in the midst of preparations for our 50th wedding anniversary.

And Flanagan is right. Love alone won't do it. Each partner must be absolutely determined that this is it. The birth of each child—we have six—ratifies the deal, even as it sweetens it. I can only be glad that neither of us is in public life; we admit that our opportunities to stray were limited by lack of opportunity and funds. (We are both teachers.) But how grand it is now to find ourselves celebrating with children and grandchildren, knowing that even when we got their upbringing wrong, we were both trying our best to get it right.

Janelle Lazzo, ROELAND PARK, KANS.

## Israel's Wavemaker

LET ME SEE IF I HAVE THIS RIGHT: ISRAELI Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman wants Arab citizens of Israel to take a loyalty oath and disavow Hamas, which fires rockets on Israel and pledges to destroy the Jewish state [July 13]. Hamas consistently liquidates Palestinian moderates who would coexist with Israel. And Lieberman is the obstacle to peace? In 60-plus years of Israeli statehood, there has yet to be a serious Palestinian negotiator who wants to "share the neighborhood." Until there is, let's stop the disingenuous Israel-bashing.

Rubin Guttman, CLEVELAND

## Let's Just Eat In Tonight

JOEL STEIN'S PLACENTA ARTICLE MADE ME laugh out loud more than once [July 13]. Although I saw the afterbirths of all four of my children and thought they resembled pizza, the idea of grilling them—the placentas, not the children—never crossed my mind.

Tracy Thompson Khan  
RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA



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# 40th Anniversary

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## The Moment

7/14/09: New York City

IN THE 91 DAYS FROM March 28 through June 26—ending its financial quarters on the last day of the month, as most other companies do, would be too pedestrian—Goldman Sachs made more than \$3.4 billion. That staggering profit—\$1.6 million per hour, \$117,000 per employee—is the most the firm has ever earned in a quarter. After Goldman reported the news on July 14, everyone from Wall Street to Wasilla struggled with a basic

question: Should we be happy about this or not?

The case for happy is that a mere nine months after the U.S. and Europe teetered on the brink of financial collapse, one of the stalwarts of the global financial system appears to have returned to robust health. Goldman has paid back, with interest, the \$10 billion that taxpayers gave it in October. It's making bets and taking risks again (most of the profits came from Goldman's trading opera-

tions), which is what capitalism is about. "Is there a law in the United States that you can't make profits?" Democrat Paul Kanjorski, a senior member of the House Financial Services Committee, asked the day of the earnings report.

**Goldman's profits are so high because so many competitors are wounded**

There isn't. But the mere fact that reporters raised the subject was an indication that the issue is complicated. Goldman's profits are so high because so many of its competitors are wounded or defunct. Though the firm is in

this advantageous position because it did a better job of steering through the crisis than did most rivals (JPMorgan Chase is Wall Street's other beacon of health), it probably wouldn't have survived the worst of the panic last fall if there hadn't been a massive government bailout—engineered by a Treasury Secretary who used to be Goldman's chief executive.

In the end, this has turned out to be a pretty great financial crisis for Goldman Sachs—and for its employees, who will earn, on average, almost \$1 million each for the year if the profit pace keeps up. It hasn't been a great financial crisis for the U.S., and the juxtaposition is bound to grate. —BY JUSTIN FOX ■

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



## 1 | Detroit

### GM Comes Speeding Back

After racing through bankruptcy in 40 days, a slimmed-down General Motors emerged from Chapter 11 focused on just four brands: Chevrolet, Cadillac, Buick and GMC. The Federal Government, which has committed \$50 billion to the company, took a majority stake and installed a new chairman. The restructurings of GM and Chrysler were considered coups for President Obama's auto task force, whose head, Steven Rattner, said he will step down.

DEC. 19, 2008

The government announces GM will receive \$13.4 billion in federal bailout funds



MARCH 29, 2009

Fritz Henderson takes over as CEO after longtime chief Rick Wagoner's ouster

MAY 15

GM declares plans to close 1,200 U.S. dealerships



JUNE 1

The company files for bankruptcy

JULY 5

A federal judge allows GM to sell the Cadillac brand and other assets to a new company owned primarily by the U.S. government

JULY 10

GM emerges from bankruptcy. Former AT&T head Edward Whitacre takes over as chairman

## 2 | Iran

### Crackdown Continues

On July 14, government officials hanged 13 members of a rebel Sunni group blamed for a series of attacks across the country, including the May 28 bombing of a Shi'ite mosque that killed 25 people. Even in a country that ranks second only to China in the number of people executed each year, such mass hangings are rare, and observers have suggested that the timing—they coincided with the announcement of a sweeping new set of restrictions on the domestic press—was meant to quell persistent unrest over the contested June 12 presidential election.

## 3 | New York City

### Let the Good Times Roll!

The recession has been kind to Goldman Sachs. After reporting \$23.2 billion in net revenues at 2009's halfway mark—a 31% jump from June 2008—the investment-banking giant is on track to dole out some of the largest bonuses in its 140-year history. In June, Goldman paid back the \$10 billion in TARP funds it accepted, and analysts say the move underscores Wall Street's willingness, after its nuclear winter, to embrace risk once again.

Annual company profits



Average employee compensation



SOURCES: CNN MONEY; DATAMONITOR; WALL STREET JOURNAL (projected)



This armored vehicle in Michoacan was attacked with grenades on July 11

## 4 | Mexico

### The Hits Keep On Coming

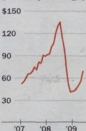
In what one columnist called the country's own "Tet offensive," suspected drug-cartel members shot up police stations across the country and tortured and killed 12 federal agents in an apparent reprisal for the arrest of a narcotics kingpin. The antidrug effort, which President Felipe Calderón has championed since taking office in December 2006, has claimed thousands of lives.

## 5 | Washington

### Speculators Face Fresh Scrutiny

Federal regulators are weighing whether to impose restrictions on energy speculators, whom some have blamed for triggering the wild fluctuations in crude-oil prices over the past year. From its peak of \$145 in July 2008, the price of a barrel of crude plummeted to about \$35 in January before rebounding to almost \$70 this summer. Some analysts deny that futures-trading has driven the swings, noting that commodity-price volatility is a normal by-product of difficult economic times.

Price of crude oil (monthly average)



SOURCE: ENERGY INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION

Numbers:

49%

Percentage of Americans who believe their life would be unaffected if their local newspaper were to fold, according to a recent study

10

Number of Sudanese women recently flogged in public for wearing pants





## 6 | Iraq

**CHRISTIANS UNDER FIRE** A spate of church bombings targeting Iraq's Christian minority killed at least four and wounded dozens on July 12. Both Pope Benedict XVI and Iraq's Sunni Muslim Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi quickly condemned the attacks, which are thought to have been carried out by Islamic extremists in an attempt to drive Christians out of the strife-torn, largely Muslim nation. Iraq's Christian population has dwindled from 800,000 in 2003 to about 500,000.

## 7 | Italy

### Agricultural Assistance

At their annual summit, held this year in the earthquake-ravaged town of L'Aquila, the G-8 nations announced a \$20 billion "food-security initiative" to benefit the world's developing countries, where soaring prices of staple goods have left nearly 1 billion people hungry. The program, which marks a shift from providing food aid to promoting sustainable farming, would primarily fund supplies such as seeds and fertilizers.



Japanese voters have become disillusioned with Prime Minister Aso

## 8 | Japan

### End of an Era?

After 50 years of nearly uninterrupted rule, the curtain may be falling on Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Following a humbling defeat in a Tokyo municipal vote, Prime Minister Tarō Aso called for Aug. 30 elections. Polls make the LDP an underdog to the opposition Democratic Party of Japan. Aso, whose approval ratings hover around 20%, has been urged to step down.

## 9 | China

### Let's Make a Deal

On July 15, a week after detaining four Rio Tinto employees for "stealing state secrets," Beijing expanded its corruption investigation of the Australian mining giant by accusing the company of bribing nearly all of China's major steelmakers to gain access to industry data. The broadening scandal comes amid stalled negotiations over setting iron-ore prices, which Rio Tinto, the world's second largest iron exporter, had been scheduled to lead.

## 10 | Washington

### Narrowing the Achievement Gap

A new Department of Education report contains heartening news for Southern states, which have made progress in closing the long-standing performance gulf between white and black students. Federal testing data show that though they still lag behind white students' results, scores among black pupils have risen more quickly since the early 1990s in states such as Florida and Arkansas than they have in many Northern areas. The largest achievement gaps in the nation are now in places like Illinois and Connecticut rather than in Southern states still struggling to erase the stain of segregation. The report does not address why widespread racial disparities persist.

#### Achievement gaps, in points



SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, BASED ON 2007 NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

### ★ | What They're Writing in France:

Lance Armstrong's LiveStrong foundation has partnered with Nike to create the Tour de France's first "Chalkbot"—a tractor-like device that spray-paints messages of support along the 2,200-mile cycling route. The water-soluble tidings, submitted by fans via text and Twitter, will be "geo-tagged" using GPS and photographed for those who sent them in.

**\$1.4**

MILLION

Estimated tab for police, traffic and cleaning services for Michael Jackson's memorial; Los Angeles has agreed to foot the bill

**\$1.09**

TRILLION

The U.S. federal deficit, which reached 13 digits for the first time and could grow to nearly \$2 trillion by fall

# Spotlight

## CALIFORNIA'S BUDGET CRISIS

CALIFORNIA is a state in crisis. Negotiations to resolve its \$26.3 billion budget deficit are weeks behind deadline, more than \$470 million worth of IOUs are clogging government ledgers and its state bonds are trading at near junk status. It's been a long, slow tumble from the Golden State's glamorous peak in the 1960s—when Governor Pat Brown built an efficient network of freeways and thriving, affordable public universities—to today's insolvent government beset by an unwieldy constitution and decades of mistakes.

California's crisis winds all the way back to 1978's Proposition 13, which cut property-tax rates 57% and forced the state to rely more heavily on income tax revenue. When Californians were wealthy, the tactic generated a surplus, enabling politicians to cut taxes, pad budgets and bask in their popularity. But when times were lean, the state struggled to pay its bills. Governor Pete Wilson encountered this dilemma in 1991, as did Gray Davis in 2003. Now it's Arnold Schwarzenegger's turn to try to wrestle a highly partisan legislature into slashing enough programs to eliminate a towering deficit. Having raised taxes by \$12.8 billion in February, the governor balked at a second hike.

California's system of governance seems designed to thwart any solution its lawmakers propose. With a two-thirds majority required to raise taxes or pass a budget, 40% of public funds earmarked for public schools and no method of overriding voter initiatives, California seems stymied by a complex puzzle that no one can solve. —BY CLAIRE SUDDATH, WITH REPORTING BY KEVIN O'LEARY/LOS ANGELES



**'Just like every family and business in California, the state needs to live within its means.'**

—GOVERNOR ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, IN A STATEMENT TO TIME

## 2/3

### Dangers of Direct Democracy

California employs a unique combination of representative and direct democracy. A 1933 provision requires a two-thirds majority in both houses to pass a budget, a rule shared only by Rhode Island and Arkansas. Tax increases must pass by the same percentage—a stipulation adopted by just 12 other states. California also uses referendums, recalls and voter initiatives more frequently than any other state. This tangled structure often combines to confound legislators seeking changes that would relieve the state's woes.

## 12

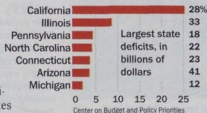
Referendums and initiatives on California's 2008 election ballot

## 0

Other states requiring a two-thirds majority to change both taxes and budgets

**State Budget Deficits**  
Seven U.S. states still haven't solved their budget gaps

Percentage of overall budget ▼



### Scaling Back Costs



**Unpaid leave** The state has forced 90% of its employees to take three furlough days each month

## Road to Insolvency



**Fiscal failure** Homeowners protest rising property taxes

### Unlucky 13

**1978** Proposition 13 caps property taxes at 1% of a home's value, forcing the state to rely heavily on more volatile capital gains and income taxes for revenue

### That'll Teach 'Em

**1988** Proposition 98 allocates roughly 40% of the state budget to education

### In Debt

**1991** Governor Pete Wilson, who inherited a \$14 billion deficit, raises taxes by \$7 billion

### Rolling in Dough

**1998** California records a \$4 billion surplus. State leaders agree on a \$1.4 billion tax cut

### Wrong Move

**2003** Facing a \$38 billion deficit after the dotcom bubble burst, Governor Gray Davis triples the state's car tax. Incensed voters recall him. Incoming governor Schwarzenegger revokes the increase, which would have raised \$4 billion annually

### Nice While It Lasted

**July 12, 2007** The state enjoys its final day in the black

### I'll Owe You One

**July 2, 2009** After a February tax hike and major budget cuts fail to slash its swelling debt, California issues its first round of IOUs. The figure is expected to reach \$3 billion by the end of July



**Into the red** California's first set of IOUs, printed earlier this month

## WASHINGTON MEMO

# Paging Dr. Obama. The hard choices have arrived for health care. Is it time for the President's prescription?

BY KAREN TUMULTY

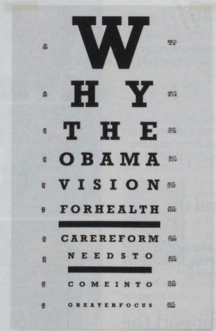
FROM THE OUTSET, PRESIDENT BARACK Obama's strategy on health-care reform has been to study everything the Clinton Administration did in 1993 and '94—and do the opposite. Where Bill and Hillary Clinton delivered a byzantine bill of more than 1,300 pages to Capitol Hill, only to see it shredded once it got there, Obama has kept his distance from the fine print. He set forth a few ambitious goals: expanding coverage, reining in health-care spending, improving medical quality. And then he left it to Congress to develop a plan that could win the votes necessary to pass.

Until quite recently, that flexible approach appeared to be working pretty well. Congressional chairmen usually prefer having control to being told what to do by the White House. And interest groups and political adversaries that had been on opposite sides of past health-care battles were at the negotiating table, in no small part because Obama had convinced them that reform was really going to happen this time. As a result, the legislative process is already further along than it ever got under Clinton.

But new fault lines are opening up everywhere you look. Liberals are worried that Obama is going squishy on including a strong, government-run "public option" among the health-care choices available to Americans. Conservatives are warning that the legislation won't do enough to control health costs. Rural lawmakers are complaining that proposed Medicare cuts will fall too hard on their states. The two sides of the abortion debate are tussling over whether the procedure should be covered under the plan. And those are just the arguments going on among Democrats.

It's all a sign that the season for hard

decisions has arrived. Obama continues to project an air of confidence about the most audacious undertaking of his presidency. "For those naysayers and cynics who think that this is not going to happen," he said on July 13, "don't bet against us." The next hurdle is to get a bill through the House and Senate by the time Congress adjourns for its August break. White House officials concede that missing that deadline could throw the entire exercise off track, because it would give opponents a month



to undermine it. Says one: "If we don't get it done before the August recess, it will be subject to a lot of attack" when lawmakers are home among their constituents.

If the President wants to accelerate the process, he may have to abandon his original hands-off strategy and start getting more deeply involved. Growing numbers of Democrats are arguing behind closed doors that Obama could ease their qualms if he were clearer about where his red lines are for health-care reform. While the President insists, for instance, that he wants to see a public plan in the legislation, he has refused to spell out in detail what it should look like. Meanwhile, White House chief

of staff Rahm Emanuel has been talking up the possibility of setting up a public plan only as a fallback if the private-insurance industry fails to create a robust and competitive market for health coverage. "The goal is to have a means and a mechanism to keep the private insurers honest," Emanuel told the *Wall Street Journal*. "The goal is non-negotiable; the path is" negotiable.

On the Senate side of the Capitol, this comment sounds like a bow to political reality. Whereas the Health Committee has passed a bill with a strong public plan, the Finance Committee is looking at a number of weaker versions, including one that would operate as a cooperative. But over in the House—where three key committee chairmen unveiled a health measure that has a public plan and puts new taxes on the wealthy—Emanuel's words stirred up painful memories from the early Clinton years. In 1993, House Democrats backed the President on an unpopular energy tax—based on the heat content of fuels, measured in British thermal units (BTUs)—then watched in shock as Clinton retreated from them when the Senate balked. That vote was one of the major factors behind the massive defeat House Democrats suffered in 1994, and some Representatives are wondering whether they might "get BTU'd" again if they stick their necks out for an ambitious health-care-reform bill that gets watered down in the Senate. "We all like Rahm," a Democratic House member told me. "But we also remember where he was in 1993." Back then, Emanuel was a top Clinton White House strategist.

Administration officials predict that Obama will not weigh in on many of the more contentious issues until a health-care bill passes both houses and reaches a conference committee this fall, much as he has done with other big bills. There are areas where Obama will be needed to help cut a final deal: determining which taxes will be raised and which programs will be cut to pay for the legislation; defining the shape and size of a public plan; deciding what businesses and individuals will be required to do. Between now and then, White House officials say, don't be surprised to see rough spots and bumps along the road. "Everybody wants to rush the process and jump to conclusions," sighs an aide. "The process will play itself out." The question is, Will there be health-care reform at the end of it? ■

**If the President wants to accelerate the process of passing health care, he may have to abandon his original hands-off strategy and start getting more deeply involved**

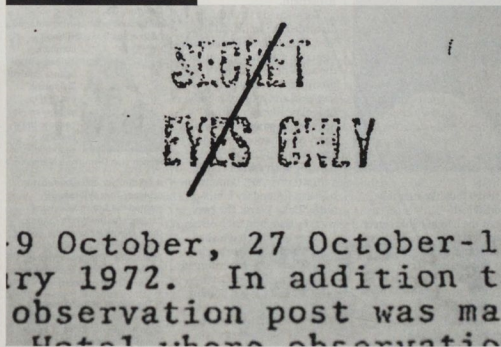






# Brief History

## Secret CIA Missions



**T**HE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY WAS DESIGNED TO work in the shadows. But Director Leon Panetta's recent allegations that the Bush Administration conceived a covert program to assassinate al-Qaeda leaders have blindsided even those lawmakers accustomed to its stealthy habits.

They shouldn't be shocked. Secret overseas operations are nothing new for the CIA, which was created in 1947 with the broad authority to conduct foreign intelligence missions. In 1953 the agency orchestrated a coup against Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh that returned the pro-American Shah to power. Over the ensuing decade, it supported coups and assassinations in places such as Guatemala and the Dominican Republic to install leaders considered sympathetic to U.S. interests. Despite this legacy, many Americans were unaware of the CIA's clandestine operations until May 1960, when a U-2 spy plane was downed over the Soviet Union. The folks in Langley, Va., suffered another collective black eye from the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba the following year.

In the 1970s, Congress and the Ford Administration sought to rein in the CIA by creating oversight committees and instituting a ban on assassinations. Some restrictions were eased in the '80s, when the agency backed Afghan *mujahedin* fighting against the Soviets and meddled in Central America. And since 9/11, the agency has attracted a new load of critics, this time for matters such as "extraordinary renditions" and the harsh interrogation of suspected terrorists in secret overseas prisons known as black sites. Poor Langley—praise is a scarce commodity for an agency whose missions, as President George W. Bush put it, remain "secret even in success." —BY RANDY JAMES

### THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE TELEVIEWED



**1960s** The CIA conjures up an array of plots to kill or embarrass Cuban dictator **Fidel Castro**,

including poisoning his cigars and giving him drugs to make his beard fall out

**1975-76** Calling the agency a "rogue elephant," Idaho Senator Frank Church leads an investigation into the CIA that prompts tighter oversight

**1980s** The CIA provides Stinger missiles and other weapons and training to *mujahedin* guerrillas resisting the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

**2002-PRESENT** The CIA uses unmanned, armed **Predator** and **Reaper** drones to attack targets in Afghanistan and Pakistan



### THE SKIMMER



#### The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works

By Henry Waxman  
with Joshua Green;  
Twelve, 235 pages

DESPITE WHAT YOU MAY have heard, Congress is a "tremendous force for good," argues Representative Henry Waxman in a readable new book packed with supporting evidence. Beginning with the dramatic 1994 hearing at which seven Big Tobacco CEOs famously swore they didn't think nicotine was addictive, the 18-term California Democrat recounts three decades of slugs-fests over public health. Waxman's legislative trophy case—bolstered by numerous bipartisan victories—is impressive. Among the highlights are battles to secure funding for HIV/AIDS research at a time when at least one colleague still favored quarantining the nation's gay men on a remote island; passing toxic-pollutants regulation in the wake of the 1984 Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India; and slapping nutritional labels on packaged food despite protests from lobbyists. Though brimming with wonky details, the book is a fast-paced civics primer for anyone who wants a reminder of what good governance can accomplish.

—BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

READ

SKIM

TOSS

HE WASN'T THE KIND OF boxer whose name resonated among the general public, like Oscar de la Hoya or Mike Tyson. But Arturo Gatti, the Canadian boxer who died July 11 at age 37 after being strangled in a Brazilian hotel room—by his wife, according to police—was an icon among sophisticated fans. And he was an icon for a reason that exists only in boxing, which

At the height of his career, Gatti lost three consecutive fights but none of his importance. His paychecks actually went up. Every fight was like a life-or-death crucible, and somehow he would survive to box again. Every fighter has a bout or two that mark the epitome of what

Gatti was most famous for his three legendary bouts with Micky Ward. The two were bred to fight each other; they couldn't have a bad round. And through the combat, they forged a bond. When Gatti fought his last bout in 2007, Ward was the trainer in his corner.

*Lampley is a veteran sportscaster for HBO*



But Mason's  
lingering impact

Through her work, Mason made certain that African-American history was always on display—even if it wasn't February. —BY FRANCES ROMERO




company Adidas and ad agency Saatchi & Saatchi. In 1996 the soccer fanatic became the majority shareholder of French club Olympique Marseille.



■ Art director and album-cover designer **Tom Wilkes, 69**, created the Grammy-winning package for the Who's *Tommy*. Other clients included the Rolling Stones, Neil Young and Janis Joplin, whom he photographed for an album cover the night the rocker died of an overdose.

■ The author of more than 20 novels, including *The Moscow Saga* and *Generations of Winter*, Vassily Aksyonov, 76, was an outspoken opponent of the Soviet



regime during the 1960s and '70s. In 1980, while vacationing abroad, he became one of the last dissident writers exiled from the country.

■ He didn't call it Ping-Pong. "It sounds sissy," table-tennis ace **Lou Pagliaro, 90**, once said. The diminutive star—who stood barely 5 ft. tall as an adult—captured the sport's national championship four times in the 1940s and '50s.

**ELECTED** The European Parliament elected former Polish Prime Minister **Jerzy Buzek, 69**, as its President. The first person from a former communist country to head a major E.U. institution, Buzek will lead for 2½ years.

**NOMINATED** President Obama tapped Alabama physician **Regina Benjamin, 52**, who runs a small-town clinic, as the next U.S. surgeon general.



"EVERYONE SEEMS TO PAY attention in February," Judi Ann Mason, the playwright and television writer, said of Black History Month. But what Mason, who died July 8 at age 54, wanted people to understand was that black history happens



James

# Poniewozik

## What Price Journalism? The news isn't free. That's why the media are brewing up new (and familiar) ways to pay for it

WILL \_\_\_\_ SAVE JOURNALISM? LATELY IT seems easier to find ruminations on that subject than to find journalism itself. With advertising down and the Internet making information seem free and easy, anxious journoes (for whom "save journalism" equals "save my job") have suggested numerous white knights for their profession, including Amazon's Kindle, philanthropists, micropayments, the government and the new iPhone. (Is there an app for that?)

Or coffee! Maybe coffee will save journalism! In June, MSNBC signed a deal to make Starbucks the official caffeinated beverage of its talk show *Morning Joe*. In 2008 a chain of TV affiliates cut a deal to place McDonald's iced coffee on anchor desks.

Those who can't sell coffee can try to sell Kaffeeklatsches. The Washington Post was embarrassed this month by a leak of its plans to charge up to \$25,000 for lobbyists and executives to sponsor "salons" with public officials and the reporters who cover the fields they work in, like health care. "Spirited? Yes," a flyer said of the promised talks. "Confrontational? No." Journalism? Someday it just might be.

Some of these experiments may seem ethically dubious or just icky, but they're also examples of a simple truth: whether you read it online or watch it on TV, there's no such thing as free news. Someone, somewhere, is paying for it, be it in money or in time. And journalists are under pressure to become more creative in paying that bill.

Once, said payment came from the

**It's possible that nothing will save the journalism business, at least as we know it. That doesn't mean journalism will go away. But somebody will have to pay**

audience or from advertisers. Now the Internet offers all-you-can-eat info, yet advertisers are unwilling to pay anywhere near the same rates for online ads as they do for print or TV ads, and the Web has all but supplanted newspaper classifieds.

The New York Times is reportedly readying plans to start charging for online access, while a group of newspaper execs has been looking into the legality of band-



ing together to do the same. News outlets are selling software, merchandise, club memberships—anything that people are more willing to pay for than, well, news.

It's possible, though, that *nothing* will save the journalism business—at least as we know it and pay for it today. That doesn't mean journalism will go away. Reporting won't go away, though foreign bureaus might. Information won't go away. Opinion certainly won't.

But somebody will have to pay—even, or especially, for the free stuff. Some journalism could become a kind of volunteer work, performed by eyewitnesses, passionate amateurs or professionals in other fields who use journalism as a loss leader to sell their books or build their brands. (That's the model of the legion of unpaid writers at the Huffington Post.) Even if you filter your own news from

Twitter, you're paying in time and effort.

Those seeking to pay the bills through full-time journalism could find different paymasters. The Associated Press recently started taking investigative reports from four nonprofit journalism groups. And if newspapers can't afford investigations, advocacy groups and think tanks—which already hire research pros—could do their own: a kind of piecemeal return to the old partisan press.

Meanwhile, the advertisers who are loath to pay for banner ads at websites have shown interest in, as they say, more "integrated" forms of product-plugging.

Some news sites sell companies "sponsored content" mentioning their products, while independent blogs collect payoffs for posts—positive ones only, please—about merchandise. (Where did I learn about that? From the New York Times, which had to report the story without sponsorship from Healthy Choice.)

The media of the future may be a combination of all this, plus old-school outlets that survive. They could produce good journalism. (After all, traditional news outlets aren't without potential conflict either; I review HBO series even though HBO's owner owns TIME.) But they may include funding models far different from the old church-and-state separation of content-making and money-raising.

Journalists would be foolish, though, to think we can guilt people into buying our work in part to preserve our uniquely holy calling. (Try arguing that to a laid-off factory worker.) As with any other service, people will buy it or they won't. Yes, news audiences will have to recognize that "free" information may mean more sponsorships and piper payers calling the tune. But journalists will have to accept that some members of our audience are, in fact, willing to make that trade-off, just as they live with product placement in movies.

We may not like it, but there it is. Producing something that someone is willing to pay for—while not selling out—may make our work possible. Whereas moralizing, plus a buck or so, will buy you a cup of robust, piping hot Dunkin' Donuts coffee. That one was free, fellas. ■





## USES

- NIASPAN® (niacin extended-release tablets) is a prescription medication used along with diet when a diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol and other non-drug measures alone have not been successful.
- In patients with coronary artery disease and high cholesterol, niacin, in combination with a bile acid binding resin (colestipol, colestyramine), another cholesterol medication, has been shown to slow down or reduce atherosclerosis, the hardening of coronary arteries due to plaque buildup.

## IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

- NIASPAN is not for everyone, including those with liver problems, stomach ulcers, or serious bleeding problems; and those allergic to any product ingredient.
- NIASPAN is a long-acting form of niacin. Severe liver damage can occur when switching to NIASPAN from immediate-release niacin. All forms of niacin are not the same as NIASPAN, so do not switch between forms of niacin without first talking to your health care professional.
- Tell your health care professional about any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, as this could be a sign of a serious side effect. This risk may be increased when NIASPAN is taken with lovastatin or simvastatin, particularly in elderly patients and patients with diabetes, kidney problems, or thyroid problems.
- NIASPAN should be used with caution if you consume large amounts of alcohol. NIASPAN is associated with increases in liver enzymes measured by blood tests. Your health care professional may do blood tests before and during treatment with NIASPAN to check for liver problems.
- NIASPAN may cause an increase in blood sugar levels. If you have diabetes or higher than normal blood sugar levels, you should carefully check your blood sugar levels, especially during the first few months of NIASPAN and during any change in your dose. Report any changes in your blood sugar levels to your health care professional.
- NIASPAN should be used with caution in patients with kidney problems. Tell your health care professional if you have a history of gout or kidney problems.



## Shouldn't you be trying something like this to help your heart's arteries?

**Consider NIASPAN.** For patients with high cholesterol and plaque in the arteries of the heart, NIASPAN, along with diet and another cholesterol medication (colestipol), is FDA-approved to not only slow down plaque buildup, but also help reduce the plaque that's already there<sup>1</sup>.

You try to manage your cholesterol. You may have made changes to your diet and started exercising. But you still wonder, "Am I doing enough?" Ask your doctor about NIASPAN. In studies of up to 2.5 years, patients with high cholesterol and plaque buildup in the arteries of their heart, showed that NIASPAN, along with another cholesterol medication (colestipol), slowed down plaque buildup. In fact, for some patients, it actually helped reduce existing plaque.

**NIASPAN is not for everyone, including those with liver problems, stomach ulcers, or serious bleeding problems; and those allergic to any product ingredient.**

**Ask your doctor if NIASPAN is right for you.**

- The most common side effects include flushing, headache, diarrhea, nausea, vomiting, increased cough, and itching.
- Flushing (warmth, redness, itching, and/or tingling of the skin) is a common side effect of niacin therapy that may subside after several weeks of consistent NIASPAN use. Additional symptoms may include rapid or pronounced heartbeat, shortness of breath, sweating, chills, dizziness, fainting, and/or swelling. Flushing may vary in severity and is more likely to occur with initiation of therapy, or during dose increases. By dosing at bedtime, flushing will most likely occur during sleep. However, if awakened by flushing at night, you should get up slowly, especially if feeling dizzy, feeling faint, or taking blood pressure medications.
- If you are taking another cholesterol medication called a bile acid binding resin (colestipol, cholestyramine) along with NIASPAN, take these medicines at least 4 to 6 hours apart.
- Some medicines should not be taken with NIASPAN. Tell your health care professional about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements, or other nutritional supplements containing niacin or nicotinamide. It is especially important to tell your health care professional if you take aspirin, any cholesterol medication, blood pressure medication, or anticoagulants, also known as blood thinners.

This is the most important information to know about NIASPAN. For more information, talk with your health care professional.

**You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088 (1-800-332-1088).**

If you cannot afford your medication, contact: [www.pparx.org](http://www.pparx.org) or call the toll-free number 1-888-4PPA-NOW (1-888-477-2669) for assistance.

**Please see the next page for brief summary of full Prescribing Information and discuss it with your doctor.**

Tear out this ad. Take it to your doctor.  
Ask if you should be doing something about plaque.

**1-888-5NIASPAN**  
(1-888-564-2772)

[www.niaspan.com](http://www.niaspan.com)



## NIASPAN (nye-uh-span) (niacin extended-release tablets)

### IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT NIASPAN (niacin extended-release tablets)<sup>1</sup>

#### What is NIASPAN?

NIASPAN is a prescription medication used along with diet when a diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol and other non-drug measures alone have not been successful.

NIASPAN is used to increase good (HDL) cholesterol and lower bad (LDL) cholesterol and triglycerides.

NIASPAN can be used in combination with lovastatin or simvastatin to improve cholesterol levels when taking NIASPAN, simvastatin or lovastatin alone is not enough.

NIASPAN is also used to reduce the risk of recurrent heart attacks in people with a history of heart attack and high cholesterol.

In patients with high cholesterol and coronary artery disease, NIASPAN, when used with a bile acid binding resin, another cholesterol medication, has been shown to slow down or reduce the build-up of plaque in your arteries.

No additional benefit of NIASPAN on heart disease has been demonstrated when used with simvastatin or lovastatin over and above that shown for niacin, simvastatin or lovastatin when used alone.

#### Who should not take NIASPAN?

Anyone who is allergic to niacin, the active ingredient in NIASPAN, or to any of the inactive ingredients. Contact your health care professional for a list of inactive ingredients.

Anyone who has stomach ulcers, liver problems or serious bleeding disorders.

#### What should I tell my health care professional before taking NIASPAN?

Tell your health care professional about any other medications, vitamins, or nutritional supplements you are taking including any that contain niacin or nicotinamide.

It is especially important to tell your doctor if you take:

- Aspirin
- A statin (another cholesterol medication)
  - The risk of muscle pain, tenderness or weakness, which could lead to a rare but serious side effect, is increased when NIASPAN is taken with a statin.
- A bile acid binding resin (colestipol, cholestyramine)
- Blood pressure medications
- Blood thinner medications

Tell your health care professional if you:

- Have a history of stomach ulcers, liver problems, kidney problems, or serious bleeding problems
- Have drug allergies
- Have diabetes
- Are pregnant or may become pregnant
- Are breast-feeding
- Consume large amounts of alcohol

#### What are the possible side effects of NIASPAN?

All forms of niacin are not the same as NIASPAN. Do not switch between forms of niacin without first talking to your health care

professional. Severe liver damage can occur when switching to NIASPAN from immediate-release niacin.

Tell your health care professional about any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, as this could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect. This risk may be increased when NIASPAN is taken with a statin.

NIASPAN is associated with increases in liver enzymes measured by blood tests. Your health care professional may do blood tests before and during treatment with NIASPAN to check for liver problems.

NIASPAN may cause an increase in blood sugar levels. If you have diabetes or higher than normal blood sugar levels, you should carefully check your blood sugar levels especially during the first few months of NIASPAN and during any change in your NIASPAN dose. Report any changes in blood sugar levels to your health care professional.

The most common side effects are flushing, diarrhea, nausea, vomiting, increased cough, and itching.

#### Flushing:

Flushing (warmth, redness, itching and/or tingling of the skin) is a common side effect of NIASPAN therapy that may subside after several weeks of consistent NIASPAN use. Flushing may vary in severity and is more likely to occur with initiation of therapy or during dose increases. By dosing at bedtime, flushing will most likely occur during sleep. However, if awakened by flushing at night, you should get up slowly, especially if feeling dizzy, feeling faint, or taking blood pressure medications.

- Taking aspirin (up to the recommended dose of 325 mg) approximately 30 minutes before taking NIASPAN, as directed by a health care professional, may help manage flushing.
- Avoid ingestion of hot or alcoholic beverages and spicy foods around the time of taking NIASPAN to help manage flushing.
- Take NIASPAN with a low-fat snack at bedtime to help minimize upset stomach.

This safety information does not include all of the information people should know before taking NIASPAN. For a complete list of side effects, ask your health care professional.

#### General information about NIASPAN

Do not use NIASPAN for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give NIASPAN to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. This leaflet summarizes the most important information about NIASPAN. If you would like more information, talk to your health care professional.

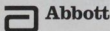
For more information call Abbott at 1-888-5 NIASPAN (1-888-564-2772) or visit [www.niaspan.com](http://www.niaspan.com).

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Revised: March, 2009

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# The CIA Has Secrets. Hello?

The brouhaha over the assassination plan is classic Washington. But it could do real harm

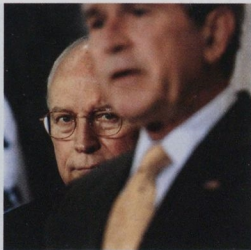
ON JUNE 24, CIA DIRECTOR LEON PANETTA made a confession. For the past eight years, the agency has been running a top-secret unit to assassinate or grab members of al-Qaeda. The program was deliberately kept from Congress—supposedly on former Vice President Dick Cheney's orders—and Panetta stopped it as soon as he heard about it.

Sounds alarming. But like many of these stories, there's less to it than meets the eye. The unit conducted no assassinations or grabs. A former CIA officer involved in the program told me that no targets were picked, no weapons issued and no one sent overseas to carry out anything. "It was little more than a Power-Point presentation," he said. "Why would we tell Congress?"

That's a good question, especially since the program was an open secret. On Oct. 28, 2001, the *Washington Post* ran an article with the title "CIA Weighs 'Targeted Killing' Missions." And in 2006, New York Times reporter James Risen wrote a book in which he revealed the program's secret code name, Box Top. Moreover, it is well known that on Nov. 3, 2002, the CIA launched a Hellfire missile from a Predator drone over Yemen, killing an al-Qaeda member involved in the attack on the U.S.S. *Cole*. And who knows how many "targeted killings" there have been in Afghanistan and Iraq?

So why all the fuss? Very likely because of that word *assassination*. I found out the weight of the term in Washington when I was still in the CIA. In the spring of 1995 I was in charge of a small unit in northern Iraq. It was a time when

it appeared that with only a little push, Saddam Hussein would fall. There were plans for a military coup, which were quickly twisted into rumors of a plan to assassinate Saddam. The Clinton White House picked up the assassination part and called the CIA to check. My team and I were pulled back to Washington. The FBI investigated, decided no one had planned to assassinate anyone, and dropped the matter. Eventually the De-



partment of Justice sent a letter to the CIA "declining" to prosecute us for attempted murder.

The White House never told the CIA why it panicked, at least as far as I know. But I do know that the Administration was living with the collective memory of the Church Committee hearings. In the mid-1970s, a Senate committee chaired by Frank Church hammered the CIA for its attempted assassinations of foreign leaders, including Fidel Castro. During the worst of it, the CIA wondered if it would survive. It did. But it was saddled with an order prohibiting assassination, and in 1981 Ronald Reagan amended it as Executive Order 12333. In the CIA, that was the closest thing we had to the Ten Commandments. So I can imagine the sensitivities in the Clinton White House when it heard rumors that the CIA was

planning to assassinate Saddam. It did not want to face the furor that would follow a failed attempt to kill anyone.

Naturally, things changed after 9/11, when everyone wanted to know why the CIA couldn't just assassinate Osama bin Laden. There's little doubt that the Bush Administration asked CIA Director George Tenet to study that very question, even as a hypothetical—in other words, to do contingency planning.

No secret there; that's what the CIA has done since it was founded in 1947. Every CIA operative deals in contingencies all the time, including assassination. In Lebanon once, I asked a source if he could grab a Hizballah terrorist. He said no, but he would be happy to kill him. I declined, knowing I didn't have the authority, then filed the thought away in the event those circumstances ever changed. But I sure never considered informing Congress of the offer. If the CIA always raised a contingency like this with Congress, the agency would spend all its time on the Hill.

I think we're going to find out that the CIA's assassination program was dealing in pure hypotheticals, ones it intended to tell Congress about if they became real possibilities. (I won't try to guess what Cheney would have done.) Yet however overblown the story, if a full-fledged investigation into it does occur, it could be the last nail in the CIA's coffin. This Congress could succeed where the Church Committee failed. Even if things are not that dire—people are always talking about abolishing the CIA—it will undermine morale for years. Congress, no doubt, will explain in the coming months how a program that was no secret was somehow beyond the pale. But if this game is nothing more than political bickering, it is not worth the candle. ■

Baer is a former Middle East CIA field officer and *TIME.com's* intelligence columnist

**I think we'll find out that the CIA's assassination program was dealing in hypotheticals, ones it intended to tell Congress about if they became possibilities**



# Yes, Judges Do Legislate

Despite what Sonia Sotomayor must say, Justices often make law from the bench, and that can be a good thing

SUPREME COURT CONFIRMATION HEARINGS are often dismissed as a kind of ritualized theater that reveals little about the judicial philosophy of nominees. But this stereotype is frequently wrong. From David Souter to John Roberts, many nominees have tended to reveal more of themselves than they expect.

Judge Sonia Sotomayor may have been something of an exception. Like previous nominees, during her confirmation hearings she displayed some aspects of her judicial philosophy—but perhaps not all of them. Adopting a trope more often associated with conservatives than liberals, she said repeatedly that judges should simply apply the law, not legislate from the bench. “My judicial philosophy,” she declared in her opening statement, is simple: “fidelity to the law. The task of a judge is not to make law. It is to apply the law.” And as if to dispel any impression that this was rhetorical boilerplate, Sotomayor returned to the same theme throughout the hearings.

Sotomayor is right that much of her record demonstrates her opposition to judicial policymaking. In some of her opinions as an appellate judge, she sounds like Justice Antonin Scalia in her insistence that judges should avoid policy considerations at all costs. “The duty of a judge is to follow the law, not to question its plain terms,” Sotomayor wrote in a 2006 dissent. “I trust that Congress would prefer to make any needed changes itself, rather than have courts do so for it.”

Sotomayor's sincere opposition to judicial lawmaking should reassure conservatives who fear that she might be an empathy-driven activist intent on legislating from the bench and imposing her vision of identity politics on an un-

willing nation. But is Sotomayor telling the whole story when she says Supreme Court Justices shouldn't—and don't—make policy? It's too bad that neither Sotomayor nor any of the Senators felt at liberty to say what many scholars and court observers believe to be true: Justices often legislate from the bench, and sometimes that's a good thing.

The idea that the Supreme Court can make policy shouldn't be controversial



after its decisions in two of the most contentious cases of the term that ended last month, one involving voting rights and the other affirmative action. In the voting rights case, Chief Justice John Roberts produced the most impressive example of judicial statesmanship of his tenure by persuading all but one of his fellow Justices to converge around a result that never occurred to Congress when it passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965. A prudent demonstration of judicial policymaking, the decision was widely praised by liberals and conservatives for inviting a dialogue with Congress and avoiding a high-stakes confrontation over the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act.

And in *Ricci v. DeStefano*, the closely watched affirmative-action case, the court was criticized by liberals—and praised by conservatives—for inventing

a new legal standard to determine when cities can throw out promotion exams that have discriminatory effects on minority firefighters. Whether or not you like the decision, there's no question that the court was making policy, coming up with a pragmatic rule that Congress never passed on its own.

Why couldn't Sotomayor acknowledge that Justices often legislate from the bench? She cited as her judicial hero Justice Benjamin Cardozo, who served on the Supreme Court from 1932 to 1938. Sotomayor praised Cardozo for his “great respect for precedent and his great respect... and deference to the Legislative Branch.” But Cardozo wasn't always an advocate of judicial deference. In his most famous book, *The Nature of the Judicial Process*, Cardozo called a chapter “The Judge as a Legislator.” Like legislators, Cardozo wrote, judges must get their experience “from life itself,” and when the law isn't clear, a judge must sometimes “pronounce judgment... according to the rules which he would establish if he were to assume the part of a legislator.”

In some of her speeches, Sotomayor seems to acknowledge that courts sometimes play a policymaking role. But her testimony and judicial opinions suggest that judges should avoid legislating from the bench at all costs. That should mollify those who worry that she will be swayed by empathy rather than the Constitution, but it's a less-than-complete description of how judges actually behave—or perhaps what she herself believes. At this point in our polarized judicial politics, it's too bad that Senators and Supreme Court nominees can't say in public what many of them recognize in private: Of course judges—both liberal and conservative—legislate from the bench, and on occasion, they even do it well. ■

**Sotomayor's hero, Justice Cardozo, admitted that judges sometimes have to act like legislators**

Rosen, a law professor at GWU, wrote *The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries That Defined America*





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# Moon Walkers

A lunar journey is hard—but not as hard as coming home when the mission is done. Forty years after the first moon landing, the nature of the men who made the trips may be the deepest mystery of all

BY JEFFREY KLUGER



METAPHOR HAD ITS way with Buzz Aldrin long before the moon did. There were always signs that the second man to set foot on the lunar surface would be stalked by demons. His grand-

father fought depression for much of his life and ended his suffering only through suicide. His mother, too, struggled with melancholy and, after Aldrin's first spaceflight, in 1966, began wearing dark glasses in public to help her cope with the family's fame. In May 1968, just 14 months before Aldrin left for his lunar trip, she also took her own life. Aldrin bore the loss quietly and flew Apollo 11 flawlessly, but in case he needed his journey to carry any more portent, there was this: his mother's maiden name was Marion Moon.

I first met Buzz in 1990, years after his landmark mission and years, too, after he had overcome his own depression

and alcoholism. I had not yet begun collaborating with astronaut Jim Lovell on the book *Apollo 13*, so Aldrin was the first lunar vet I'd ever met. We attended a dinner on the aircraft carrier *Intrepid*, moored on Manhattan's West Side, and I maneuvered myself so that we wound up sharing a cab east. That night, a big white platter of a moon hung over 46th Street, which seemed deeply meaningful to me but which Buzz did not seem to notice. Instead, we discussed the future of rocket propulsion and space travel, a topic that continues to fascinate him.

That future, as always, is uncertain, but as the 40th anniversary of the Apollo 11 landing arrives on July 20, the past remains familiar. Nine Apollo missions were launched moonward, and six of them landed. The cultural memories of these missions remain penny-bright—and the aging men who flew the ships retain a status that goes beyond iconic. Baseball players are icons; movie stars are icons. But those kinds of folks, we breed as we need. The lunar fraternity stopped taking

*Aldrin now, right, and then, left. The past 40 years of his life have been shaped by the 21 hr. 36 min. he spent on the moon*

## Buzz Aldrin | 79



LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 11

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Walked on the moon on Apollo 11; orbited Earth and walked in space on Gemini 12

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Author; lecturer; head of ShareSpace, a group that advocates private spaceflight



Orbited the moon



Walked on the moon



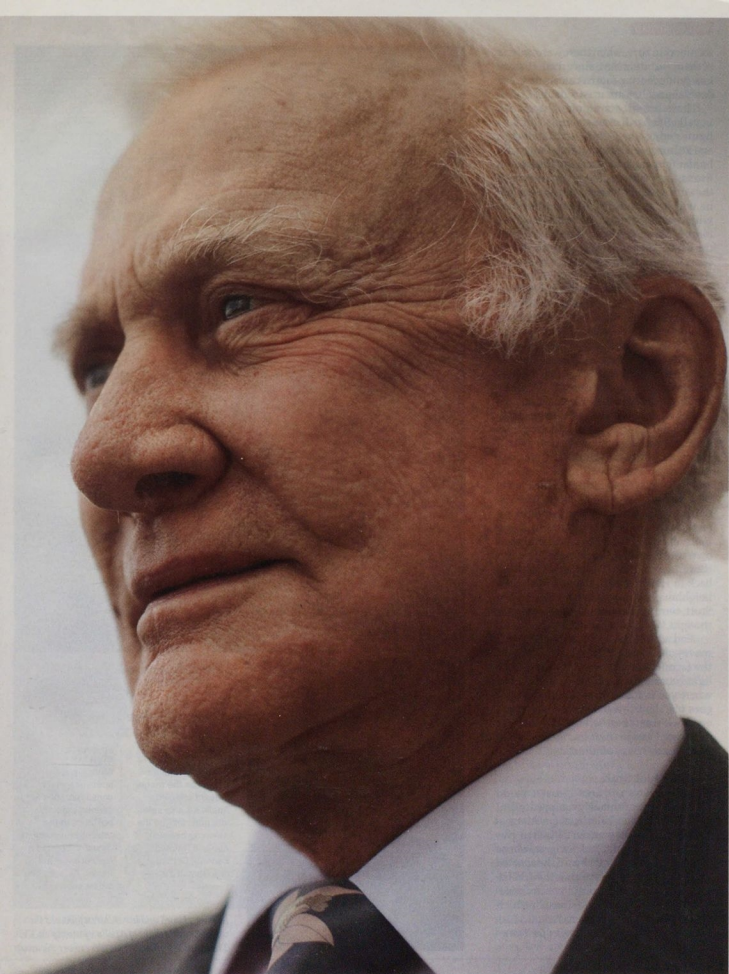
Rode the lunar rover



Went to the moon twice

Photo-illustrations for TIME by John Ritter

Portraits for TIME by David Burnett—Contact



members in 1972, when there were only 24 of them—and six have since died. History has produced far more American Presidents than it has lunar astronauts.

There are giants among the giants: Lovell, Shepard, Armstrong, Aldrin—figures who, like Gehrig and Lindbergh and Edison, need but one name. Others are harder for people to place: Stu Roosa, Ron Evans, Dick Gordon. But bring any one of the surviving moonmen into a room and he will be approached in the same way: with a wonder and a deference accorded to only those few who have sailed past the part of the map where dragons be and come back home to tell the rest of us what they saw.

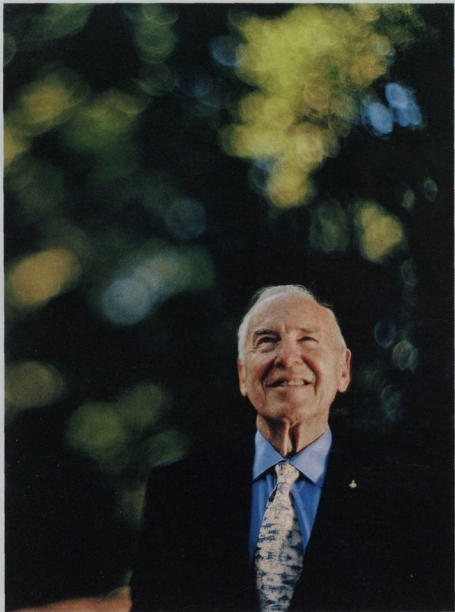
"I'm amazed at the interest folks give to a moon walker," says Apollo 16's Charlie Duke, whose bootprints are still pressed into the moon's Descartes highlands and who, after 37 years, ought to be used to the attention. Aldrin still marvels at the seemingly universal need people have to tell him where they were on the night they watched him walk on the moon.

But what about the men themselves? What about the 39-year-old pilot who returns from the moon and knows with a mortal certainty that he has already done the most noteworthy thing he'll ever do and now must keep himself busy for the next half-century? What about the existential whiplash that comes from being on the moon one week and in your living room the next—and having to find your own way to process the vast gulf between those two worlds? "I remember coming back to Houston after the moon, and my neighbors had a barbecue for me," Dave Scott, commander of Apollo 15, told me. "I thought, 'What am I doing here?'"

And what happens when the press pack moves on, when the interviews stop and the faces of the flyers once limned with light become lined with age? "Remember where you're standing when the spotlight goes off," Lovell warned me once, when our book was a best seller and the movie it spawned was in theaters. "You'll have to find your own way off the stage."

### The Rightest Stuff

IN MANY WAYS, THE MEN CHOSEN TO GO to the moon were uniquely equipped to deal with such complex emotional questions—if only because they weren't wired to give them much thought. Jack Swigert, whose sole trip into space was aboard the aborted Apollo 13, once observed that the odd banality of the air-to-ground communications from the Apollo missions, in which



**James Lovell | 81**



**COMMANDER, APOLLO 13**

\*APOLLO 13 FLEW AROUND THE MOON BUT DID NOT ENTER ORBIT

#### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Denied the chance to land on the moon, brought crippled Apollo 13 ship safely into port; orbited the moon on historic Apollo 8; orbited Earth on Gemini 7 and Gemini 12

#### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Author, public speaker and film consultant; has held various executive positions in the telecommunications industry; opened a restaurant in Lake Forest, Ill., with his eldest son, a chef



*Marilyn Lovell and her children followed the white-knuckle flight of Apollo 13 mostly on TV. The other astronaut wives were never far away*

*Kluger is a senior editor and writer for TIME and co-author of Apollo 13*



## Alan Bean | 77



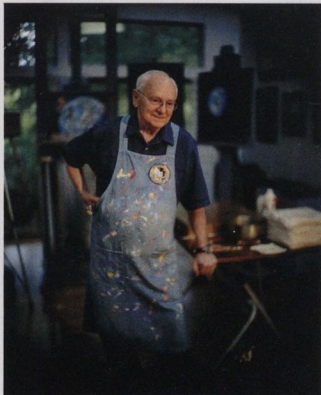
LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 12

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Landed and walked on the moon's Ocean of Storms with Conrad; later commanded his own Skylab mission

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Has devoted his life to painting the moon and the astronauts who explored it; an exhibit of his work is opening in Washington



It wasn't easy for two men alone on the moon to get a group photo, unless one was reflected in the visor of the other. Here, Bean reflects Conrad

## William Anders | 75



LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 8

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Flew just once, but it was big: Apollo 8 was the first manned mission to orbit the moon; arrived Christmas Eve 1968

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Worked for multiple companies and eventually became chairman of the defense contractor General Dynamics

## Frank Borman | 81



COMMANDER, APOLLO 8

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Made history with Apollo 8 lunar orbit; also commanded Gemini 7, which rendezvoused in Earth orbit with Gemini 6

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Chairman of Eastern Airlines; serves on corporate boards; became goodwill ambassador to Europe and Asia

## Ronald Evans | 1933-1990



COMMAND-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 17

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Orbited the moon during the last landing mission; performed a 66-min. spacewalk on the way back to Earth

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Initially worked as a coal-industry executive; later became director of Sperry Flight Systems

astronauts getting their first glimpse of the moon rarely uttered anything more poetic than "amazing" or "fantastic," was no accident. The very things that qualified the men to go to the moon, he believed, disqualified them to describe their journey with any lyricism. Think too deeply about what you're doing and the enormity of the thing can stop you from getting it done. And when one crewman violated that unwritten code of sangfroid, others, often as not, would stop him cold.

"Hey, let me ask you this," Apollo 10's Gene Cernan can be heard saying to his crewmates on a once classified closed-loop recording as the three men peered out the window at the moon below them. "Where do you suppose a planet like this comes from? Do you suppose it broke away from the Earth like a lot of people say?"

"I ain't no cosmologist," astronaut John Young answers with deliberate bluntness. "I don't care nothing about that."

NASA officials carefully screened for pilots who were made of tough physical stuff, and they chose well. In 1930, about the time most of the lunar astronauts were born, the life expectancy for a white American male was 59.1. In 2009, three-quarters of the former moonmen are still alive, and all of them are near or past 80—not a likely result of chance. The doctors weren't looking equally hard for men who were free of poetry or fancy, but it was no surprise that they got that too. "They were all fighter pilots," says Dr. J.D. Polk, NASA's current chief of medical operations. "Psychologically speaking, they were a pretty self-selecting group."

But if the pilots weren't wired for wonder, they were wired for fun. After the successful mission of Apollo 11—a serious, almost grimly flown affair—things loosened up, and the astronauts took advantage of the high adventure of their jobs. When the late Pete Conrad, commander of Apollo 12, hopped down from his lunar module, he eschewed any resonant words about small steps and giant leaps and went instead for a simple "whoopie!" Years later, I asked him if he had found it hard to enjoy himself on the surface, knowing that if the lunar-module engine didn't light, he was never going home again.

"Nah," he said. "I was a happy guy on the moon." He got over his fear the first time he orbited Earth, when a failed retro-rocket would leave him just as stranded—and just as dead—as if he were stuck on the moon.

Conrad wasn't alone in enjoying his lunar mission. Most of the flights after Apollo 11 run together in the public mind, but all are recalled as a procession of bunny-hopping, buggy-driving American men, frequently joking, sometimes sing-

ing and generally having a grand time. "Man, this is a fun ride!" Duke exclaimed as he drove about the terrain in his collapsible moon car. Ken Mattingly, Duke's Apollo 16 crewmate, was reluctant even to look out the window of the orbiter too much, for fear that the next transcendent view would wipe out the previous one. "My mind was an erasable memory," he says. "It just deleted the last experience."

Even Apollo 14's Alan Shepard, known as the "ice commander" for the severe approach he sometimes took to his work, melted with delight at what he was doing. "You're ready to go out and play in the snow," he said to Edgar Mitchell as he helped the rookie astronaut climb into his suit before they left the lunar module.

### Hard Landing

THE FUN ENDED FAST, HOWEVER. The longest of the lunar missions lasted just 12 days; the shortest, about a week. When the first three flights that landed on the moon—Apollo 11, 12 and 14—came home, the astronauts were swaddled in biocontainment suits and hustled into quarantine, where they spent three weeks under observation in case they had picked up any lunar pathogens. The first good look the world got of Apollo 11's Aldrin, Neil Armstrong and Michael Collins after their return was thus through the window of a trailer on the deck of the recovery ship U.S.S. *Hornet*, where they waved to President Richard Nixon and the crowd outside—a tableau Aldrin describes as a "circus spectacle." Later they were transferred to roomier quarters in Houston. Most people reckoned that the astronauts loathed the indignity of the nickel-a-peek display and the 21-day lockdown, but the truth was that they rather needed it.

"The fact that we were in quarantine kept us connected to NASA," says Apollo 12's Alan Bean. "It was business, and that was good. It also gave us the chance to get the report written that we needed to write." Aldrin, who always had a powerful thirst, availed himself happily of the scotch the astronauts were provided during isolation and, when that ran out, took to filching some from the stash overseen by the lead doctor, who slept in the bedroom next to his.

The Apollo 15, 16 and 17 crews got no such slow re-entry time, and their return to the quotidian world was much more sudden. All of the men, however, had some hard adjusting to do. "The transition from 'astronaut preparing to accomplish the next big thing' to 'astronaut telling about the last big thing' did not come easily to me," Aldrin writes in his new book, *Magnificent Desolation*. The title is taken from the exquisite oxymoron he uttered when



**Neil Armstrong / 78**



COMMANDER,  
APOLLO 11

#### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

First man on the moon; commanded Gemini 8, bringing the ship safely home after a thruster malfunction caused it to spin out of control in Earth's orbit

#### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Taught engineering at the University of Cincinnati; helped investigate the Challenger disaster

#### Dick Gordon / 79



COMMAND-MODULE  
PILOT, APOLLO 12

#### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Orbited the moon while his crewmates walked; flew on Gemini 11; was chosen to command Apollo 19 and would have walked on the moon, but budget cuts claimed the mission

#### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Held numerous executive positions with oil, gas, engineering and software companies; was a vice president of the NFL's New Orleans Saints



**Eugene Cernan / 75**



COMMANDER,  
APOLLO 17

#### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Last man to set foot on the moon; orbited the moon on Apollo 10; orbited Earth and walked in space on Gemini 9

#### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Worked in petroleum and aerospace fields; contributed to ABC-TV; wrote memoir *The Last Man on the Moon*



**Michael Collins / 78**



COMMAND-MODULE  
PILOT, APOLLO 11

#### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Orbited the moon while Armstrong and Aldrin walked; orbited Earth and walked in space on Gemini 10

#### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Was director of the National Air and Space Museum and vice president of an aerospace company; penned *Liftoff*



**Pete Conrad / 1930-1999**



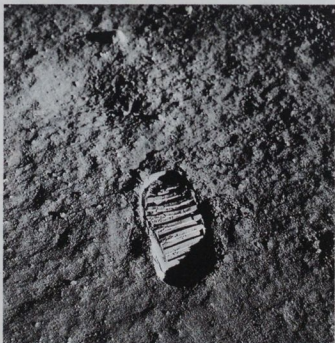
COMMANDER,  
APOLLO 12

#### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Led the second lunar-landing mission; flew aboard Gemini 5 and 11 and commanded the first Skylab crew

#### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Was vice president at McDonnell Douglas, where he worked on developing a booster that could fly to orbit using a single stage



Aldrin made the footprint above on July 20, 1969. On the airless moon, it should endure

**'We trained for this our whole lives, and we got to stay just 33 hours.'**

—ALAN BEAN, LUNAR-MODULE PILOT AND MOON WALKER, APOLLO 12



**Ken Mattingly** / 73

 **COMMAND-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 16**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Was bumped from Apollo 13 because of exposure to measles; went to the moon two years later; commanded two shuttle missions

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Served as CEO or held executive roles with several major aerospace companies, including Grumman, General Dynamics and Lockheed Martin; founded his own rocket-development company

**James Irwin** / 1930-1991

 **LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 15**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
His moonwalks with Scott were perhaps the most scientifically productive of all the landings, yielding a treasure of geologically revealing rocks

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Founded the High Flight Foundation, an interdenominational religious group in Colorado Springs; developed an irregular heartbeat during his moon mission and eventually died of heart disease



**Edgar Mitchell** / 78

 **LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 14**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Landed and walked on the moon at the site originally targeted by Apollo 13; served as part of the backup crew for Apollo 10

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
His moon trip gave him a deeper sense of how all matter—including that which makes up humans—was birthed by stars; founded the Institute of Noetic Sciences to study consciousness and related phenomena

**Stuart Roosa** / 1933-1994

 **COMMAND-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 14**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Flew once, waiting in the orbiter while his crewmates walked; his deft piloting saved the mission when the command and lunar modules at first failed to dock properly; agile thruster work tripped the latches, and the flight proceeded

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Held various positions in commercial finance and real estate development; later owned a Coors-beer distributorship



**David Scott** / 77

 **COMMANDER, APOLLO 15**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Landed in the moon's Apennine mountains; led first mission to use lunar rover; orbited Earth on Apollo 9 and survived the near disastrous Gemini 8 with Armstrong

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Founded his own technology company; consults for TV and film; collaborated with Russian cosmonaut Alexei Leonov on a book about the space race

**Harrison Schmitt** / 74

 **LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 17**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
The lunar program almost expired before he got his chance to fly, but his degree saved him; he was moved up from the canceled Apollo 19 because NASA wanted at least one trained geologist to visit the moon

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Served a term as Senator from New Mexico, 1977-1983; has worked since as a professor, an author and a business consultant



**John Young** / 78

 **COMMANDER, APOLLO 16**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Landed in the moon's Descartes highlands; flew in space a total of six times, including orbiting the moon aboard Apollo 10, two Earth orbital trips aboard Gemini 3 and 10 and two shuttle missions

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Nearly a NASA flier; remained a major force in the agency in numerous capacities until his retirement in 2004

**Alan Shepard** / 1923-1998

 **COMMANDER, APOLLO 14**

**LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT**  
Led landing mission that helped restore NASA's confidence after the near disaster of Apollo 13; with his poggon suborbital flight aboard Freedom 7, in 1961, became the first American in space

**LIFE AS A CIVILIAN**  
Had a keen eye for business and thrived in real estate development, investments and a beer distributorship; co-authored a book with astronaut Deke Slayton

he first looked around himself on the lunar surface, but it aptly describes his early postmoon life as well. "What does a man do for an encore?" he asks.

For some, the encore was more of the same. Dick Gordon, who waited in orbit on Apollo 12 while his crewmates walked on the surface, wanted to return to the moon and get his boots dirty. Fred Haise, who was denied his chance to land when Apollo 13 was crippled, felt the same way. Haise was eventually tapped to command Apollo 18, and Gordon got 19—but both missions were scrapped because of budget cuts. "On the way back, Pete, Dick and I talked about what we wanted to do," says Bean. "We all wanted to fly again."

Some did fly, others didn't, but nearly all felt at least some sense of drift. "People in wars have the same experience," says Mattingly. "They're in one world with one set of rules, and they step off an airplane and they're in another." NASA didn't help much. The agency exhaustively screened its candidate moonmen for emotional stability before clearing them for flight but kept a much more casual eye on them afterward. "I guess they figured we were big boys," says Lovell, a veteran of Apollo 8 and 13. Duke insists he didn't need a NASA nanny worrying over him anyway. "I was never a woe-is-me guy," he says.

But in failing to accept that woe sometimes was them, the space agency did its pilots a disservice, says psychologist and cultural anthropologist Lawrence Palinkas of the University of Southern California. Palinkas studies how people adapt to extreme environments and isolation, working with both NASA and groups planning polar expeditions. "What can make it hard for people like this is that they're so highly motivated and they wait so long for a mission," Palinkas says. "There can be a deep sense of loss once the goals have been accomplished, and there may be no adequate substitute."

Desk jobs in the shuttle program were available to many of the astronauts, but the new ship was a pickup truck compared with the glamorous Apollos. "Coming down from that Apollo high was hard," Duke concedes. Lovell had a more sudden moment of clarity. "I was looking at the design of the shuttle cockpit," he says, "and suddenly realized I was in the same room I was in years before when we were working on the F-4 [fighter]. I'd made a full circle." Not long after, he squared that circle and walked out the door.

For some, the next-best choice lay in politics, another high-stakes game, with the thrill of an election replacing the thrill of a liftoff—even if it was followed by the comparative drudgery of governing.



Swigert ran successfully for Congress but died of cancer before he could be sworn in. Apollo 17's Harrison (Jack) Schmitt served a term as Senator from New Mexico, then lost his 1982 re-election bid to a candidate whose ads cheekily asked, "What on Earth has he done for you lately?"

Lovell was the target of tag-team pressure from the stars of the Republican Party—including Vice President Spiro Agnew—all of whom wanted him to run for the Senate from Wisconsin and all of whom he turned down. Finally, the phone rang in his Houston home with a call from the White House. This time it was the Commander in Chief calling to ask an active naval officer to step forward and serve his party. Lovell might have succumbed—but Nixon overplayed his hand. When Lovell mentioned that he'd had no time to raise campaign funds and that the primary was just weeks away, Nixon dismissed the problem. "Son," he said in a tone that was meant to be reassuring but was something else entirely, "money is no problem." Lovell, now well spooked, gave his final no.

The astronauts found their ways into postmoon careers, and some thrived. Apollo 8's Frank Borman became chairman of Eastern Airlines. Crewmate William Anders became chairman of General Dynamics, an aerospace, marine and defense contractor, earning a tip of the hat from the other astronauts as the richest of the former moonmen—though no one has ever done the comparative accounting that would confirm the rep.

Others went in less predictable directions. Bean, who has always had a deft way with a paintbrush and palette, turned to the easel full time, painting the subjects he knew best: the moon and the people who trod it. He has a new exhibition opening at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington this month. Duke, who insists he found no philosophical meaning in his time on the moon, nonetheless came home to find a deep well of Christian spirituality within himself and fills his time with secular and religious speaking. Apollo 15's James Irwin similarly found his faith and established a nonprofit religious group.

Apollo 14's Mitchell was the biggest surprise of all. He stunned most people upon his return when he revealed that during the mission he had quietly conducted experiments in extrasensory perception with two friends back home—trying to send them mental images from space. He later founded the Institute of Noetic Sciences in Petaluma, Calif., to study what some refer to as the paranormal—and what he insists is nothing of the kind. "Nothing is para once you know what's going on," he counters. "For

## Tom Stafford 78



COMMANDER,  
APOLLO 10

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

So close! Apollo 10 was not a landing mission but flew within 8 miles (13 km) of the moon; Stafford also flew aboard Gemini 6 and 9

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

A retired Air Force general, he founded a consulting company and serves on corporate boards

## Jack Swigert 1931-1982



COMMAND-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 13

\*FLEW AROUND FAR SIDE OF MOON BUT DID NOT ENTER ORBIT

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Was tapped for unlucky 13 shortly before launch when Mattingly was grounded; flew just one time

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

Served on a House science committee and later won a seat in Congress but died before he could serve

## Al Worden 77



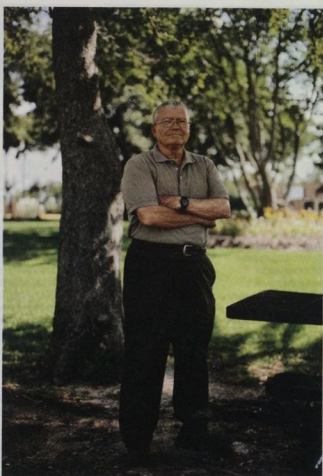
COMMAND-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 15

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

A bridesmaid twice, backing up Apollo 9 and 12 crews, he at last flew to the moon on Apollo 15; did not get to land but did conduct a spacewalk

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

President of aerospace company; vice president of BF Goodrich; frequent public speaker



## Fred Haise 75



LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 13

\*FLEW AROUND FAR SIDE OF MOON BUT DID NOT ENTER ORBIT

### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

The moon slipped by when an explosion crippled his ship; was chosen to command Apollo 18 before the mission was canceled

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

The lunar module saved the Apollo 13 crew; fittingly, he went to work for Grumman, which had built the lander



A disastrous mission ends with a flawless splashdown. Apollo 13's Haise prepares to be hoisted aboard the recovery ship Two Jima



## Charlie Duke | 73



LUNAR-MODULE PILOT, APOLLO 16

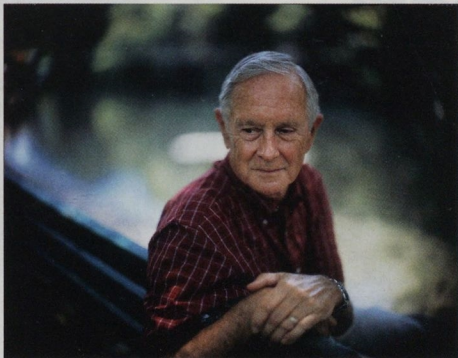
### LIFE AS AN ASTRONAUT

Logged marathon 71-hr. stay on the lunar surface, collecting nearly 213 lb. (97 kg) of rocks; served as backup lunar-module pilot for Apollo 17

### LIFE AS A CIVILIAN

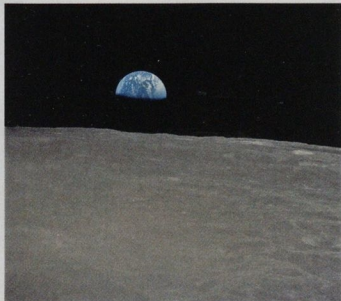
Founded an investment group and owned a beer distributorship, then turned to religion; now a secular, motivational and spiritual speaker

*The landing sites are littered with all manner of debris—and a few sentimental grace notes. Duke left a plastic-wrapped photo of his family*



### Moonstruck

To watch videos about how the Apollo 11 mission landed on the moon, see photos the astronauts took, listen to interviews with astronauts and hear what experts believe NASA should do next, go to [time.com/apollo11](http://time.com/apollo11)



some people, it's normal." Mitchell says it was his lunar journey that opened his eyes to something larger in the universe—what he refers to as his "ah-ha experience."

The challenging re-entry so many astronauts endured has prodded the modern NASA to pay closer mind to its pilots after they come home. "I'm not sure of what we did then, but it's nothing like what we do now," says Polk. "We do much more to lend assistance to astronauts and their families." Some of that assistance involves helping crews deal not with massive fame followed by indifference but with indifference from the start, as a public that has long since wearied of the space shuttle stops paying attention altogether.

Whether such anonymity might have benefited the Apollo veterans depends mostly on each man. Aldrin eventually found stability and sobriety and has since pursued a high-profile public-speaking and consulting career that in many ways cashes in on his lunar backstory. Armstrong, on the other hand, has retreated from public view, shunning interviews and appearances, with the exception of a visit to the White House every fifth year on the anniversary of the Apollo 11 landing. I once asked Scott—who survived a near death experience with Armstrong when their Gemini 8 spacecraft spun out of control in Earth orbit in 1966—if perhaps his old crewmate's Salinger act was inappropriate for a man who in some ways had been selected to make history rather than make it on his own. "Absolutely not," the ordinarily affable Scott said—almost snapped. "Neil did everything that was ever asked of him. He flew his missions, he did his p.r. tours. His life is his own."

It's that comradeship—forged in the fires of liftoff and set in the deep freeze of space—that may be the pilots' most enduring lunar legacy. Early in my work on the *Apollo 13* book, I asked Lovell a question he'd been asked many times before: Did any member of his crew panic during the emergency return they made to Earth—particularly in the first few hours, when there was no reason to believe they'd even survive the night? Lovell answered that the three men had agreed never to discuss that matter with anyone else and never would. The obvious inference was that of course someone had come unhinged—why else wouldn't he say otherwise?—but that conclusion, I came to understand, was wrong. The confidentiality of the lunar cockpit was an absolute thing, whether breaching the secrecy would cast the crew in a good light or a bad one. In the long history of the human species, there are only 24 men who have come to understand that bond. The rest of us can still only guess at it. ■

# Cory Booker Is (Still) Optimistic That He Can Save Newark

## Not Everyone Is

BY SEAN GREGORY/NEWARK

**M**ANY RESIDENTS OF NEWARK, N.J., long one of America's most troubled cities and favorite punch lines, would love to hop on the next bus down the Turnpike and never look back. Sure, the city has made strides since its devastating race riots in 1967—there's a sparkling-new downtown arena, some bright residential complexes, the gestation of a hipster scene. But Newark is still a drug-infested, poverty-stricken place where rubble piles up on Park Avenue and the shabby Hotel Riviera sits across the street from an auto-parts joint, around the corner from an abandoned five-story building.

So if Newark Mayor Cory Booker, the political phenom who was most likely to be introduced as the “first black President” at speeches before we actually elected

the first black President, had accepted a chance to run Barack Obama's new Office of Urban Affairs earlier this year, could anyone have blamed him? After all, Newark's mayors—Hugh Addonizio, Sharpe James—tend to end up in the jailhouse, not the White House. What could be more tactical for a young, telegenic Rhodes scholar with infinite political potential? A home among the Georgetown salons, minutes from the national talk-show studios? Or a brownstone in Newark's South Ward, where on a July day, six teens shared a joint about a block from the mayor's residence? At 10 in the morning.

Despite all the rational reasons to pursue the position, Booker turned down the President. “That job is not playing to my strengths,” says the mayor while sitting on a couch in his city-hall office. It's closing in on 8 o'clock the night before the three-day



### How Booker Does It

Go behind the scenes with Newark's mayor at [time.com/booker](http://time.com/booker)







## Turbulence, Triumph

Booker, above, on a morning jog near his Newark home; National Guardsmen, left, on patrol after the '67 riots, which ravaged the city; Booker's team installed surveillance cameras and a hi-tech control center, near right, to monitor crime; a new South Ward recreation center, far right



July 4 weekend. He has just wrapped up a meeting with his police director and a conference call with the local electric company, but Booker, 40, doesn't know when to quit working. Or talking. Some politicians ramble on in paragraphs; Booker pontificates in pages. Chapters, even. "That's not playing to my sense of purpose," he says of the White House position. "And right now, I do believe, as immodest as it sounds, I'm the right guy at the right time for this city."

Is he? Newark had its glory days as a multicultural melting pot that produced luminaries like novelist Philip Roth and Supreme Court Justice William Brennan. It was a place that, with its strategic location in the Northeast urban corridor and assets like a thriving port, had the potential of Los Angeles. But since the '67 riots and the epic flight that followed, Newark (pop. 280,000) has been searching for its elusive renaissance. Booker, a black kid from the lily-white suburbs of northern

New Jersey, has promised to deliver it and prove that an educated, technocratic outsider can rewrite the rules for how America's most challenged cities are governed.

The Booker bio is irresistible—and familiar: he arrived in Newark fresh out of Stanford, Oxford and Yale Law, passing up riches to save a poor city. He moved into a decrepit Newark public-housing project, which has since been torn down, and was elected to the Newark city council at age 29. In 2006, at 37, he became mayor. To his supporters, who include A+ listers like Oprah Winfrey, Bon Jovi and Brad Pitt, plus an elite cadre of Wall Street and Silicon Valley scions, Booker's self-sacrificial tale is heroic. To his critics, Booker is still a publicity-loving political opportunist, a permanent outsider using the citizens of Newark to jump-start bigger things for his career.

But he passed up a job that would seem to be a step up, and now, in the age of Obama, how big can Booker actually get?

Now that we actually have an African-American President, some say it's natural to start scouring the country for the next one. But in another sense, Obama's election has diluted the Booker brand. The challenge for African-American stars like Booker is to separate themselves from Obama's larger-than-life persona and not seem like Barack wannabes. So is Booker just Obama-lite, or can he really govern? And there's an even larger question: Can anyone save Newark?

## A Crime-Dog Mayor

THE CENTERPIECE OF BOOKER'S CAMPAIGN was a promise to improve public safety in Newark. "You're a children's foundation, you're a health-care foundation—don't you know that if a kid gets shot, every one of the issues you care about gets undermined?" Booker says.

Booker hired Garry McCarthy, a respected, no-nonsense New York City cop,



Newark's harrowing history, is awfully hard to control. "It's very ballsy," Newark city councilman Oscar James II says of Booker's laser focus on reducing murders. "Some dude decides to go on some crime spree, starts taking people out, and then what? It happens."

During Booker's first year, the strategy did indeed backfire. In August 2007, three local college students were murdered, execution-style, in a city schoolyard. The tragedy was a nightmare that traumatized Newark and its confident new mayor. "It broke me down," Booker says on a Friday evening in June while relaxing in the back of his SUV. "I was feeling a deep sense of frustration and pain. I was just taking all the violence at that point very, very personally."

Instead of shuffling priorities to save face, however, Booker attacked crime even harder. First, he worked with the Newark business community to raise \$3.2 million to install more than 100 surveillance cameras throughout the city. The technology led to 109 arrests in its first 16 months of operation. And against the advice of his staff, the police director, even his mother, Booker started personally patrolling the streets with his security team until 4 in the morning. "At some point, I just told him, 'Cory, you keep me on my knees,'" says Carolyn Booker, the mayor's mom.

McCarthy wanted the mayor to get back to his day job. "I grabbed my chiefs and said, 'Look what the mayor has to do to raise his comfort level,'" McCarthy says in his thick Bronx accent. "Why aren't you guys making sure that he's not uncomfortable?" Whether the cameras, Booker's patrols or the Policing 101 measures instituted by McCarthy—moving more officers to night and weekend shifts, when, get this, crime is more likely to happen—were most responsible for the turnaround, the results are stunning. Murders dropped 36% in Newark—from 105 to 67—from 2006 to 2008. Shooting incidents dropped 41%. Rapes fell 30%, and auto thefts 26%. Newark went 43 days without a homicide in early 2008, the city's longest such stretch in 48 years. In the first quarter of this year, Newark had its lowest number of homicides since 1959.

Booker is obsessed with the murder statistics. While Booker and McCarthy discuss a recent homicide investigation in the mayor's office, the creases on Booker's forehead increase tenfold. He admits to posting a murder target for 2009 on his bedroom wall, a practice that he knows is somewhat morbid. (Booker won't share the number he wishes Newark to beat.) Booker has dumped the 4 a.m. chases, however. "I made a deal with Garry that

as long as the crime numbers are going where they are going," Booker says, "I will not get in the police cars anymore." He hasn't totally softened, though. While cruising to a July 4 community barbecue in his mayoral SUV, Booker spotted a woman buying drugs in front of about 12 children. He ordered his security detail to pull over and lock her up.

Booker's tougher policing methods are not getting rave reviews from all residents. "It seems like the cops hate us," says DeAndre Breeland, a legal aide who lives in the South Ward. On a late-June night patrol, two cars from the Newark police department's street-crime unit zipped through some of the city's most notorious neighborhoods, slowing down to check on groups hanging out on stoops and flashing lights to make sure there was no funny business. The glares from Newarkers said it all: Get out of here. Of course, these same detractors didn't see the gang unit chase down and tackle an armed 16-year-old kid later that night. Or the street-crime unit pull out 31 vials of cocaine from under the passenger seat of a car.

Booker sticks up for his guys. "We have gotten far more aggressive, and appropriately so," he says. "We allowed in our city a high level of tolerance to build up to things that are objectionable. You should not have people dropping trou and urinating on the side of a road. You can go on. I'm sorry, but that is breaking the law."

The crime stats aren't all sterling: as the recession set in, robberies, for example, spiked 27% in 2008 and have risen 10% year to date through late June. But numbers don't tell the whole story. On June 27, a 17-year-old boy was murdered on Martin Luther King Boulevard, near one of Newark's spanking-new affordable-housing communities. "Whenever there's a murder in Newark, the city almost defaults to the terrible memories," says Clement Price, a history professor at Rutgers University, Newark, who has lived in the city for 40 years. "The statistics become meaningless."

### Moving Beyond Murder

A SMALL BUT PASSIONATE BAND OF BOOKER critics is standing on the steps of Newark's city hall early one evening, rallying against a city plan to create a municipal water authority. Among the agitators is Amiri Baraka, a prominent, controversial African-American poet and activist. Baraka, 74, has won a trunkful of literary prizes but was essentially stripped of his New Jersey poet-laureate title after penning a post-9/11 poem that was denounced as anti-Semitic. The writer, who was reared in Newark and still lives in the

to run his police department. McCarthy had helped New York City mayors Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg cut Big Apple crime. Booker took a huge risk because in Newark, McCarthy had two strikes against him. First, he's white. In a majority-black city fraught with racial tension between residents and police officers, that was sure to anger some locals. Second, he's not from Newark, a provincial town accustomed to giving plum public-sector jobs to its own. So here comes this Ivy League mayor reared in the suburbs entrusting the police department to a white outsider? Political suicide, anyone? "If you're a white Irish cop from New York and have something to add to the city, I'm not shutting the door just because you're a white Irish cop from New York," Booker contends.

Despite the strong law-enforcement team the mayor put in place, Booker's staff begged him to quit harping on crime. After all, violence, especially in a city with

city, is a voice from the civil rights era who can sound resentful of post-racial politicians like Booker and Obama. To Baraka, they are profiting from the opportunities that he fought so hard to create. If any local figure is going to rant about cutting Booker's "nuts out," as Jesse Jackson did in a slip about Obama last summer, it would be Baraka.

Baraka is asked to evaluate Booker. "I give him credit. The homicide rate has gone down," says the poet. "But I don't know if you can judge the quality of life in a city by just the homicide rate. Where is the employment? Where is the education? What is in it for the residents?"

Fair questions. Booker's team can rattle off a list of accomplishments beyond murder reduction. For example, his administration has doubled the number of affordable housing units currently under construction and quadrupled the affordable stock in predevelopment. Almost a dozen parks have been refurbished. Booker's national profile and endless advocacy for Newark have attracted more than \$100 million in private philanthropy—money that is even more crucial for Newark in a recession.

But as Booker well knows, philanthropy and social programming, no matter how creative, won't solve Newark's most pressing problems. Unemployment in the city rose to 13.5% in May, the city's highest level in nearly six years. Foreclosures have tripled, and boarded-up homes taint many blocks.

The mayor remains upbeat. "I don't say this in an exaggerated way, but in five years, we're going to shock the nation," Booker says. "In a way that you're kind of resuscitating people's belief in democracy and belief in the American ideals." If you're a politician who could possibly face Booker down the road, clip that quote. The city is burdened with the same drug, crime and urban-decay issues it had four, 10, 20 years ago. Booker talks a big game, and three years into his term, he has certainly impressed. But despite Booker's best efforts, 2009 Newark isn't shocking anyone.

### Leadership, but for How Long?

STILL, BOOKER'S POLITICAL FUTURE IN Newark remains bright. According to an internal poll, he enjoys an 80% approval rating. More important, a strong oppo-

nent has yet to enter next year's mayoral election. Booker's victory looks like a foregone conclusion. "For the first time in my life, Newark is looked at more positively because of its mayor," says Steve Aduabato Sr., a longtime local power broker, and former Booker foe, who runs a nonprofit in the city. "Newark is no longer a big joke."

Critics, however, offer legitimate complaints about Booker's leadership. Many city workers earn a handsome living—Newark has 264 municipal employees

Booker staunchly defends the salaries. "I stand by any personnel decision I've made," he says. He points to a reduction of Newark's budget deficit, from \$180 million to \$73 million, according to the city, as a healthy return on his talent investments. A more professional and efficient city hall has helped Newark collect an extra \$10 million in property taxes this year in spite of the foreclosure crisis. Further, Booker has proposed a 2% pay cut for all non-police and non-firefighter employees making more than \$100,000 and is pushing for mandatory furloughs.

Booker, a former tight end at Stanford whose hands are longer than the Jersey Shore, possesses the oratorical gifts of Obama (unlike the President, he shuns teleprompters) and the eagerness to engage that carried Bill Clinton to the top. Unlike Clinton, Booker sometimes needs to read crowds a bit better. At a community event, he dropped a reference to the television show *Frasier* while playing Simon Says with a few dozen African-American kids and their parents. (Frazier was the last name of one of the participants.) The kids were mystified.

Geeky slipups aside, Booker's intellectual breadth and insatiable curiosity are impressive. But his critics are convinced that he'll bolt the city soon enough. The mayor, however, has promised to stay put. "I'm not going to give you any political baloney," he says. "At this point, I'm committed to two terms, and at the end of those two terms, if I stay in politics, I will look at other offices." (New Jersey will have a governor's race in 2013, near the end of what could be Booker's second term as Newark mayor.)

At about 9:30 on a warm June evening, after Booker has finished his radio show and is on his way to sell Newark to yet another philanthropist, I give him the ultimate no-win task. Grade yourself. Like any other good pol, Booker dodges. "It's very hard to feel you're doing an A performance when you still have a 12-year-old who gets shot," Booker says, recalling a recent incident (luckily, the boy has recovered). "But I do feel more hope and optimism than I've ever had in my life that we can get there. It's not an issue of can we. It's more an issue of will we. I do have a feeling that we control our own destiny." Now all he has to do is shock the world. ■



**On the job, for now** Booker, in his office, says he wants to lead Newark for two terms. After that, he's keeping his options open

who make \$100,000 or more. Plus, during 2007 and through the first eight months of 2008, Booker signed some 160 executive orders either giving an employee a pay raise or starting a new hire at a salary above the minimum set by civil-service guidelines. Some orders gave low-level workers a more livable wage. Others were a bit gratuitous. For example, one aide went from making \$107,225 to \$118,607. Isn't 107 grand enough to live on? The fiscal impact of these orders totaled about \$1.5 million.





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# Financial Aid

What's wrong with the proposed consumer-finance watchdog? Not much, actually

OF THE MANY PROPOSALS THE OBAMA Administration has put forward for redoing financial regulation, the simplest and most straightforward has got to be the creation of a Consumer Financial Protection Agency (CFPA). Maybe that explains why it's also the most controversial.

Bankers hate the idea of a CFPA and reportedly plan to spend millions of dollars on TV ads and other efforts to thwart it. Members of Congress are griping about the way it steps on the toes of existing agencies they like. And those on the political right have taken to characterizing the CFPA as a classic case of Democratic regulatory overstretch.

My own opinion, after several days spent perusing the legislation—there's a 152-page Administration draft and a 229-page bill introduced in the House by Financial Services Committee chairman Barney Frank—is that the logic behind it is quite compelling. That doesn't mean it will actually work as advertised, especially after Congress is through with it. But it's an idea that deserves a chance.

The main thrust of the legislation is to take the consumer-protection responsibilities (and consumer-protection regulators) now housed at the Federal Reserve and other banking agencies and give them their own new home. In trying to balance the joint responsibilities of protecting consumers and keeping banks safe and sound (that is, profitable), bank regulators have in the past decade failed at both. So the idea is that if we create an agency with *consumer* in the name and a clearer focus, we'll have a better shot at protecting consumers from dangerous,

deceptively packaged financial products and keeping banks from lending themselves into oblivion.

This line of reasoning is most closely identified with Elizabeth Warren, a Harvard law professor and the current chairwoman of the congressionally appointed committee overseeing the Treasury's bail-out efforts. In a 2007 article in the journal *Democracy*, Warren argued for what she



called a Financial Product Safety Commission. But the idea isn't exclusive to her. Canada, which did not suffer the subprime woes of its southern neighbor, created a consumer financial agency in 2001. Australia and the Netherlands have taken the more ambitious step of consolidating all consumer and market oversight under one financial regulator while leaving soundness to another. Last year when he was still Treasury Secretary, Hank Paulson endorsed this approach in his blueprint for regulatory reform.

The most reasonable objection the banks have to the CFPA is that its reach is too limited, hence subjecting banks to burdens other financial firms won't bear. Products regulated by the Securities and

Exchange Commission and Commodity Futures Trading Commission would be exempt from CFPA oversight, as would most insurance companies, which are regulated by the states. And while the CFPA would have authority over anyone extending credit to consumers, the first line of regulation for nonbanks such as mortgage brokers and check-cashing firms would remain the states. American

Bankers Association chief executive Edward Yingling argues that because of this, the playing field would still be tilted in favor of the nonbanks, and he may be right. But it would at least be more level than it is now.

Once the TV ads start running, the debate will probably center not on level playing fields but on whether consumers need protection at all. "The proposed CFPA appears to be premised on the idea that Washington is better at making financial decisions for all Americans than leaving that choice up to individual Americans," said Spencer Bachus, the ranking Republican on the House Financial Services Committee—whose top five 2008 campaign donors were UBS, Citigroup, Credit Suisse, JPMorgan Chase and Bank of America, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

It's an odd statement, given that all consumer financial regulation is based on the premise that individuals need help from government in dealing with banks and other lenders. From the 1930s through the '60s, banks were straitjacketed by D.C.-dictated interest-rate and lending rules meant to keep them and their customers out of trouble. Decades of haphazard and at times heedless deregulation followed, with eventually disastrous results. The CFPA legislation envisions a partial return of the straitjacket. Among its other tasks, the new agency would devise plain-vanilla products that lenders must offer customers—but those customers could still opt for complexity. Most of us need protection, the new reasoning goes. But not quite all.

**In trying to balance the joint responsibilities of protecting consumers and keeping banks safe and sound (that is, profitable), bank regulators failed at both**

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**The heartland** Jewish settler Einat Bloch holds her neighbor's son as they admire the view from Shiloh, their settlement in the West Bank

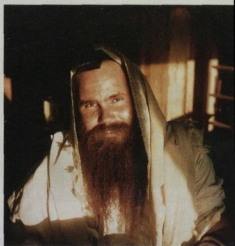
# Two Views Of the Land

Some Israeli settlers think they are doing God's work. Palestinians think they are thieves

BY NINA BURLEIGH/EFRAT



Photographs for TIME by Uriel Sinai—Getty



## Not Going Away

**Efrat** The Katzes, left, publish a community magazine in their West Bank town, 15 minutes from Jerusalem

**Havat Gilad** Arie Lipo, above, the outpost's spiritual leader, teaches at a yeshiva built to attract settlers

**Karnei Shomron** Jewish families relax poolside at this settlement in the heart of the West Bank

**I**N A HILLTOP SUBURB SOUTH OF JERUSALEM called Efrat, Sharon Katz serves a neat plate of sliced cake inside her five-bedroom house, surrounded by pomegranate, olive and citrus trees that she planted herself. She glances out the window at the hills where, she believes, David and Abraham once walked. "We are living in the biblical heartland," she sighs.

It is a heartland the prophets would not recognize, replete as it is with pizza parlor, jazz nights at the coffee shop, grocery store and yellow electronic gate with machine-gun-wielding guards. Efrat is one of 17 settlements that make up a bloc called Gush Etzion, located not in Israel but in the occupied West Bank. The Katzes (Sharon, husband Israel and five children) consider themselves law-abiding citizens. They publish a small community magazine and take part in civic projects. Sharon raises money for charity by putting on tap-dancing and theater shows. And yet to much of the outside world, the Katzes are participat-

ing in an illegal land grab forbidden by the Geneva Conventions, which prohibit an occupying power from settling its own civilians on militarily controlled land. Some Israelis have admitted as much. While Benjamin Netanyahu, then as now Prime Minister, was negotiating with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in 1998, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon got on Israeli radio and urged Israelis to settle more land fast. "Grab the hilltops, and stake your claim," he said. "Everything we don't grab will go to them."

The Palestinians ("them") hate the settlements as a reminder of occupation, proof that if and when any agreement with Israel is forged, they will never get back the land they call theirs. The settlements have joined other intractable issues—like the desire of Palestinian refugees to return to villages their families left 60 years ago—that have stymied every effort to find peace in the Middle East for a generation. The Obama Administration says negotiations between the Palestin-

ians and the Israelis can only proceed if Israel agrees to stop settling occupied land. "The settlements have to be stopped in order for us to move forward," said Barack Obama when he met with Netanyahu in May. But for Israeli politicians on both the left and the right, even agreeing to freeze the settlements—much less dismantling them—is easier said than done. And the Katzes are one of the reasons why.

It wasn't always so. After the Six-Day War in 1967, two groups of then rare (now commonplace) religious nationalists settled one small site each in the Galilee and Efrat. At the time, the Israeli government had no intention of settling seized Arab land and sheepishly described the settlements as military bases. Over the years, though, Israeli governments of all political persuasions have supported colonizing the West Bank—providing money, building permits and water and sewage services, as well as constructing special settlers-only roads. The number of settlers has grown fast in the past 15 years,





as Israeli troops have pulled out of Arab cities and moved into the countryside, where they protect the Jewish population centers. In 1995, according to Israeli census figures, 138,000 settlers lived in the West Bank and Gaza. Now in the West Bank alone (no settlers remain in Gaza), there are nearly 300,000, mostly nestled together in heavily guarded blocs, living among 2.5 million unwelcoming Arabs. An additional 200,000 Israelis live in East Jerusalem, which Israel "annexed" in 1967.

### A Gathering of the Exiles

OVER THE YEARS, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT has paid lip service to the idea of opposing settlements, mainly by evacuating small outposts while supporting the large, suburban-style blocs. In 2005, Israel turned Gaza over to Palestinian control, ceding major settlements for the first time in 30 years. For the settlers, who frequently justify their presence as sanctioned by God, that act was a benchmark provocation and—in the view of religious nationalists—a di-

vine repudiation of Israel's failure to settle yet more land. The government compensated each of the Gaza families with up to \$400,000, but the money is of little interest to Sharon Katz and others in Efrat. They intend to stay put.

The Katz family moved to Efrat from Woodmere, N.Y., in 1985, after a family visit to Israel during which Sharon had an epiphany while her children played with some newly arrived Ethiopians. "I looked at my sons in their Izod shirts next to these children from Africa, and I saw black, white, black," she says. "The Bible talks about the ingathering of the exiles, and here were these children all together." The Katzes don't think their town is an obstacle to peace. They can sometimes see Palestinian Arabs on the green flats far below but have no interaction with them. Most people in Efrat take bulletproof buses to Jerusalem, 15 minutes away, via a "bypass road"—one of a vast network Israel has built in the West Bank. The Katzes believe Arabs

arrived in the area only in the 1970s. "People tried to build here many times and failed because the conditions were very harsh, rocky, no water," Israel Katz explains. "Jews are very stubborn people. If they want something, they won't stop. Jews started coming here and to talk of a community. That's when Arabs started coming here."

The Netanyahu government, like its predecessors, makes a distinction between what it calls "legal" settlements like the Gush Etzion bloc (pop. 75,000) and "illegal" outposts deeper in the West Bank. Within sight of the Arab city of Nablus, settler Itay Zar, 33, lives in a two-room shanty with his wife and their five children, above a stretch of road at risk from Palestinian snipers. Zar's father, Moshe Zar, is one of the biggest—and therefore most despised by Palestinians—Jewish buyers of Arab land in the West Bank. Zar grew up in the West Bank. His outpost—named Havat Gilad after an elder brother killed by Palestinians—consists of a



dozen shabby metal shacks and trailers inhabited by 20 families, with 40 to 50 children among them. A plastic slide and swing set stand on a weedy corner of the arid hilltop. Havat Gilad gets electricity from generators and water from a hilltop tank. The Israeli government evacuated the settlement five years ago but recently agreed to transport its children to school. "We are on a mission," Zartells *TIME*. "We didn't come here for fun, although we have fun sometimes. When we came here, this land was deserted. Since the Jews came back, it has started to flourish."

To reinforce the spiritual mission, Zar erected a yeshiva that houses 35 young men. Their families pay about \$250 a month for room, board and religious instruction centered on their role in God's plan to populate the occupied area with Jews. The settlement's spiritual leader, Arie Lipo, 35, sporting a 9-inch ginger beard and an ankle-length white gown, tells *TIME* he battled Israeli soldiers during the last evacuation, but he talks softly of

a kind of peace. "We build small heavens here," he says. "We are the people of the Bible. If Obama fights what God has done in bringing the people of the Bible here from the four corners of the earth, he will fall. Now the question is, Who is the boss? God? Or Obama?"

In the absence of divine intervention, resolution of the settlement conflict will have to depend on human effort. Itay Zar and Sharon Katz are profoundly unlike each other, but Palestinians revile them equally. To the Arabs, Israeli settlements have sliced and diced up territory that once belonged to them, taking scarce resources like water and requiring special checkpoints that make their daily lives a misery. Down the hillside a few miles from the Katz home, Naim Sarras, 49, a Christian Palestinian farmer, vehemently disputes the claim that Arabs arrived only in the 1970s. He displays a long row of grapevines with thick trunks, and papers from the Ottoman era that he says prove his family has farmed the land for

150 years. He can no longer sell much of his produce because the Israeli government requires him to label it **PRODUCT OF ISRAEL** and the Palestinian Authority forbids that. But he can't afford to leave the fields fallow—and open to Israeli confiscation. Three Sarras brothers and a cousin tend the fields under the constant surveillance of video cameras at the edge of a nearby settlement. They complain that settlers from the Gush Etzion bloc have come in the night and uprooted or poisoned olive trees. "I am willing to live with Israelis," Sarras says. "But they will not live with us." Shaul Goldstein, mayor of the Gush Etzion regional council, defends his community's dealings with local Arabs. "We have the right to have cameras to protect our communities," says Goldstein, 49, a builder who constructed many of the Etzion homes. He insists he has Palestinian friends and says, "When I saw someone had uprooted trees, we condemned it very, very dramatically. I don't accept any kind of violence."



**Karnei Shomron** Lunch in the West Bank home of the Carmel family, left

**Havat Gilad** Itay Zar, above, lives with his wife and five children on a hilltop near Nablus

**Tapuach Junction** Rachel Ginsberg, right, a settler, waits for a ride home



#### Life in the Settlements

Surrounded by Palestinian enmity, the settlers carry on. More photos at [time.com/settlements](http://time.com/settlements)



#### Plumbing and Powerful Men

FOR EVERY ITAY ZAR (THERE ARE AT LEAST 100 hilltop settlements like his in the West Bank), there are thousands of Sharon Katzes in communities with plumbing and Little League. These suburban settlers make up the established West Bank colonies that Israel does not want to relinquish—in fact, would like to expand. So far, Netanyahu has not directly challenged Obama on the settlements, other than to say he won't stop "natural growth" (that is, houses for expanding families). Since the Israeli army is always skirmishing with radicals like Zar, giving up the occasional outpost is politically feasible, even popular. But challenging powerful men like Goldstein ("He has a lot of friends in America," former President Jimmy Carter told TIME on his way into a meeting with the mayor) and law-abiding citizens like Sharon Katz is another matter. Politically, it is not easy for Netanyahu to face down the settlers. But if he does nothing, Obama will have to confront the Israelis more directly than has any

other President since George H.W. Bush, who threatened to refuse granting Israel \$10 million in loan guarantees as long as the expansion of settlements continued.

In Israel, settlers from suburban towns to hilltop outposts alike express contempt for Obama. The U.S. gave \$2.4 billion in aid to Israel last year, but Israel Katz says the cash does not entitle a U.S. President to "tell us how to live." He adds, "He is butting into another country's interests. I don't think Israel tells Obama what to do."

In the end, even if Obama continues to apply pressure, the solution to the settlement question will have to come from inside Israel. For many Israelis, the settlements are not a matter of ideology—they simply offer a cheap place to live for a growing population. Still others see no need for settlements at all. Two opinion polls in June had very different results. In one, 56% supported Obama's position; in the other, 56% opposed it. As the settlers build, tacitly assisted by the state, activists often campaign against them. "This is

about the borders of morality. Do we want to rape 3 million people to obtain a national narrative?" says Dror Etikes, who works for an Israeli human-rights organization, Yesh Din, that challenges settlements in court. "The settlers are a small minority of strong militants. I don't think they will provoke a civil war, but I think disengagement will be the hardest trauma in Israel's history."

Sitting around their kitchen table, with grandchildren's plastic toys scattered on a deck beyond sliding-glass doors, the Katz family doesn't look or sound militant. Indeed, to American ears, their version of the national narrative sounds rather familiar. "I would love it that the little outposts someday have their own playgrounds and Little League," Sharon Katz says. "Israel shouldn't leave any hilltop! How did communities start out in the American West? With one log cabin. When we bought this land, it was a rocky hillside. Look what it looks like today."

—WITH REPORTING BY AARON KLEIN AND JAMIL HAMAD/JERUSALEM ■



# Big Tobacco's New Targets

Wise to the health risks, the developed world is slowly giving up tobacco. That just means that the industry has shifted its focus. The battleground? Africa

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

**T**HERE ARE A LOT OF WAYS TO DIVIDE the world—rich and poor, east and west, industrial and agrarian. Now add one more: smoking and nonsmoking. In the U.S. and other developed countries, Big Tobacco is on the run, chased to the curbs by a combination of lawsuits, smoking bans and high taxes. Fewer than 20% of Americans now smoke—the lowest rate since reliable records have been kept. President Barack Obama recently signed laws boosting federal cigarette taxes from 32¢ a pack to \$1 and giving the FDA the power to regulate cigarettes like any other food or drug.

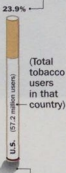
But the West is not the world, and elsewhere, smoking is exploding. This year tobacco companies will produce more than 5 trillion cigarettes—or about 830 for every person on the planet. In China, 350 million people are currently hooked on tobacco, which means the country has more smokers than the U.S. has people. Smoking rates in Indonesia have quintupled since 1970.

In Africa the battle for the hearts, minds and lungs of new smokers is being waged particularly aggressively. The continent still enjoys the lowest smoking rates in the world, largely because most people just can't afford cigarettes. But the tobacco industry abhors a vacuum, and in recent years, it has been working hard to fill it.

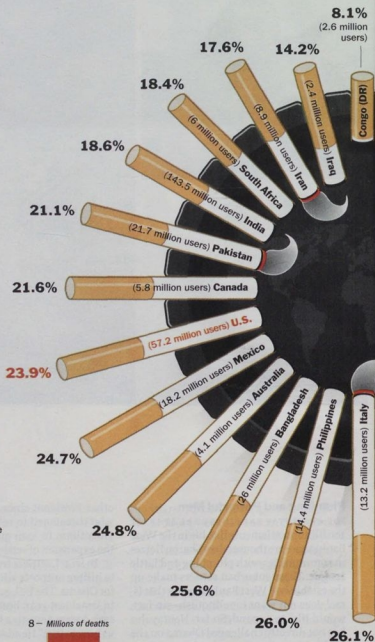
In 2003 the World Health Assembly, the decision-making body of the World Health Organization, adopted a treaty designed to attack global smoking through a mix of methods including bans and tax hikes. So far, 164 countries have joined the pact. The U.S. signed the treaty in 2004 but has yet to implement it, though the President is expected to seek Senate ratification soon. That step—like every step taken to hold back the tobacco flood tide—will help. Meanwhile, here's a snapshot of where we stand—and the work that still needs to be done. ■

## KEY

**Cigarette length:**  
Percentage of inhabitants ages 15 and older using tobacco as of 2005

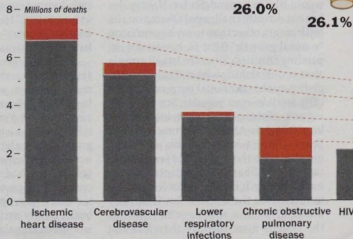


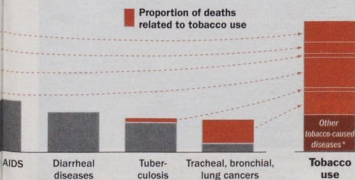
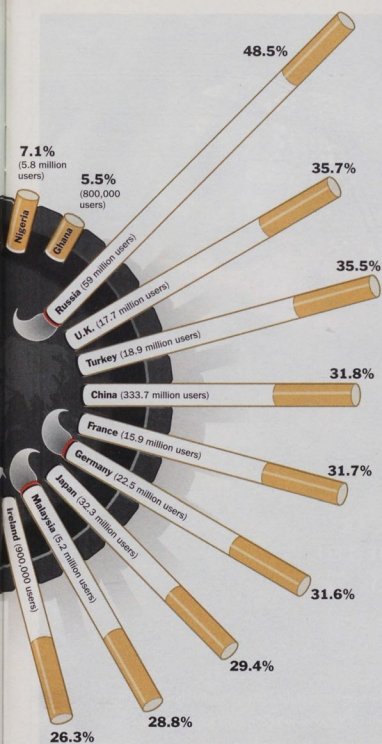
**Smoke:**  
Countries with increasing per capita cigarette consumption, 2002-06



## LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH

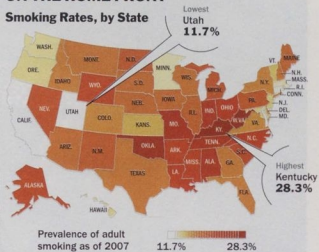
At the world's current population, about 57 million people die each year. Smoking contributes to six of the top eight killers; snuff the butts, and you stop many of the deaths.



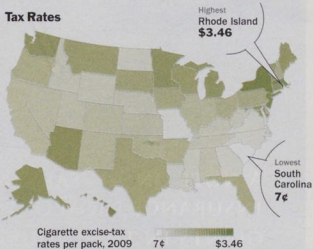


## ON THE HOME FRONT

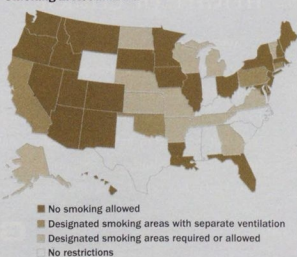
### Smoking Rates, by State



### Tax Rates



### Smoking in Restaurants



\*Includes cancers of the mouth, oropharynx, esophagus, stomach and liver and other cardiovascular diseases  
 Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids; World Health Organization  
 TIME Graphic by Lon Teetzel; research by Slaye Gurvey



**A NOTE ON 70 YEARS IN CAR  
INSURANCE FROM ONE OF THE  
GIANTS IN THE INDUSTRY.**

**(WELL, NOT IN TERMS OF  
HEIGHT, OF COURSE.)**

What the Gecko lacks in stature he certainly makes up for in ability. In fact, under the ownership of Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway Inc., he's helped GEICO rise to become the nation's third-largest car insurance company. Of course, the fact that GEICO has been helping people save money on car insurance for over 70 years hasn't hurt either. And when it comes to financial security, GEICO is consistently ranked "excellent" or better by independent experts. But even though it's not common practice to have geckos in the highest levels of business, this one inspired three million drivers to switch to GEICO last year (and never missed a day of work). Perhaps proving that you can be both big and small at the same time.

**GEICO**

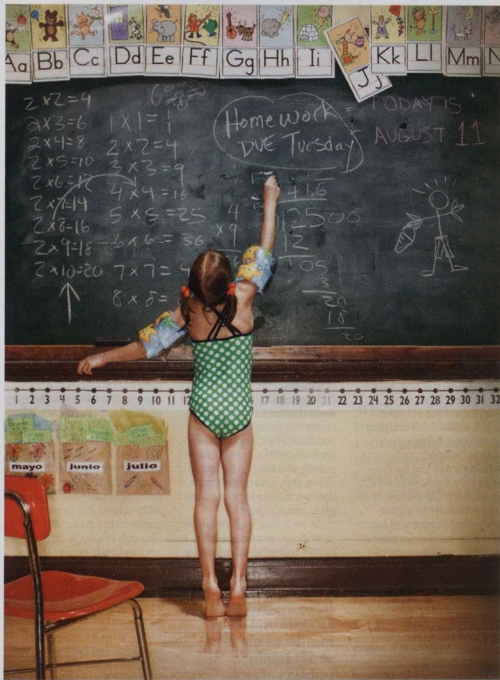
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GEICO is the third-largest private passenger auto insurer in the United States based on 2008 market share data as reported by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, March 2009. At December 31, 2008 Government Employees Insurance Company had admitted assets of \$12.5 billion, and policyholder surplus of \$4.1 billion (including \$33.4 million in paid up capital stock). Total liabilities were \$8.4 billion, including \$7.7 billion in reserves. Additional information is available at: <http://www.geico.com/about/corporate/financial-information>. Government Employees Insurance Co. • GEICO General Insurance Co. • GEICO Indemnity Co. • GEICO Casualty Co. These companies are subsidiaries of Berkshire Hathaway Inc. GEICO: Washington, D.C. 20076. GEICO Gecko image © 1999 - 2009. © 2009 GEICO



# Life

EDUCATION SOCIAL NORMS WEB WATCH



## EDUCATION

### Summer School for Everyone?

Why some schools are adding more class time

BY GILBERT CRUZ

HELLO, SUMMERTIME! NO more pencils, no more books, no more teachers'—wait, actually, yes, there may very well be more of each of those. Sorry, kids. A vacation-crushing theory on how to improve student performance is gaining traction: more time in class. Longer days, longer year. Goodbye, summer.

It's a strategy supported by both President Barack Obama and Education Secretary Arne Duncan, and cities and states are experimenting with various approaches. Cincinnati, Ohio, for example, in June started giving students in the city's 13 most persistently failing public schools the option of an extra month (a "fifth quarter") of classes. And Ohio Governor Ted Strickland hopes to phase in a similar 20-day extension at all schools statewide.

Duncan, as the nation's educator in chief, has repeatedly plugged a longer school



#### MAKING TIME

# 220

Number of days in the South Korean school year, compared with 180 in most of the U.S.

# 2

Number of months of reading achievement lost each summer by low-income students in the U.S.

# \$1,300

Cost per student in some Massachusetts schools to add 300 hours to their calendars

day and year. He views today's standard six-hour, 180-day calendar as way too old school, a holdover from not only 19th century agrarian society but also mid-20th century Donna Reed-style parenting. "Our children are no longer working in the fields," Duncan says. "And Mom isn't waiting at home at 2:30 with a peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwich. That just doesn't happen in many American families anymore."

Educators have been eyeing more class time for decades. The landmark 1983 federal report *A Nation at Risk*, which highlighted the growing achievement gap between the U.S. and other countries, recommended that school districts "strongly consider" a seven-hour day and a 200- to 220-day academic year, which would hew more closely to the schedules in higher-performing Europe and Asia. Although the practice has yet to go mainstream, there's a big push to add school hours in underperforming urban districts. One champion of this movement is Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy, who on July 8 introduced the Time for Innovation Matters in Education Act, which would provide federal grants for states and

districts to "expand learning time in high-need, high-poverty schools."

One of the nation's most closely watched experiments along these lines is Massachusetts' Expanded Learning Time (ELT) Initiative. Launched in 2006, the program involves 26 low-performing schools that have each added approximately 1½ to 2 hours per day to their school calendar. "We're in the early innings of proving how to extend school hours responsibly and effectively," says Chris Gabrieli, chairman of Massachusetts 2020, which helped originate the ELT idea. "But clearly, focusing on the students that are furthest behind is where it makes the most sense. Middle-class kids, they get a lot more learning time outside of school—they get tutors, they get arts programs, they get music programs, they get summer camps."

Why is that stuff so important? Because without those camps and other stimulating

activities, something called summer learning loss occurs. Researchers estimate that low-income students can lose two months of math and reading achievement owing to a lack of reinforcement during the summer break.

Critics of extended school time point to the fact that it's expensive to keep schools open longer. In Massachusetts, for instance, ELT schools receive an additional \$1,300 per student, on top of the basic state allotment. And, some ask, if a school is low-performing, if the teachers or curriculums or parental involvement isn't up to snuff, how much good will more class time really do? "You can't just extend time in these schools by 30%," says Elena Silva, an analyst with Education Sector, an independent think tank. "That in and of itself is not going to work as a strategy to turn around schools."

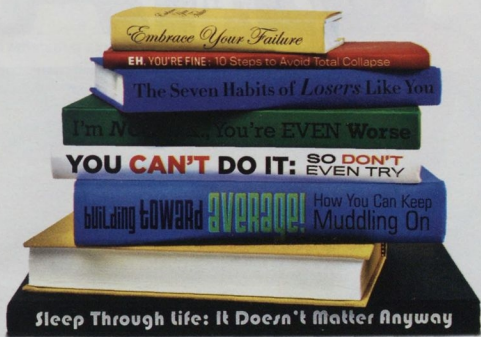
That's why Massachusetts makes schools completely redesign instruction plans before they can receive ELT money. Elsewhere, high-performing charter schools, like those in the Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) network, combine more class time with a rigorous curriculum and exceptionally devoted teachers. A typical KIPP school day runs from 7:30 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, with four hours of class every other Saturday and three weeks of mandatory summer school. More hours and days are key, says Steve Mancini, KIPP's public affairs director. But so is everything else. "Time is just one piece of the puzzle," he says. "It's what you do with that time that matters." ■

**Cincinnati in June instituted an optional extra month of classes at 13 failing public schools**

## SOCIAL NORMS

# Finding Your Inner Loser.

New research suggests it may be time to accept your shortcomings



BY JOHN CLOUD

THE \$11 BILLION SELF-HELP industry is built on the idea that you should turn negative thoughts like "I never do anything right" into positive ones like "I can succeed." But was Norman Vincent Peale right? Is there power in positive thinking?

Researchers in Canada just published a study in the journal *Psychological Science* that says trying to get people

to think more positively can actually have the opposite effect: it can simply highlight how unhappy they are.

The study's authors, Joanne Wood and John Lee of the University of Waterloo and Elaine Perunovic of the University of New Brunswick, begin by citing older research showing that when people get feedback they believe is overly positive, they actually feel worse, not better. If you tell your dim friend that he has the poten-

tial of an Einstein, you're just underlining his faults. In one 1990s experiment, a team including psychologist Joel Cooper of Princeton asked participants to write essays oppos-

**Trying to get people to think more positively can actually have the opposite effect**

ing funding for the disabled. When the essayists were later praised for their compassion, they felt even worse about what they had written.

In this experiment, Wood, Lee and Perunovic measured 68 students' self-esteem. The participants were then asked to write down their thoughts and feelings for four minutes. Every 15 seconds, one group of students heard a bell. When it rang, they were supposed to tell themselves, "I am lovable."

Those with low self-esteem didn't feel better after the forced self-affirmation. In fact, their moods turned significantly darker than those of members of the control group, who weren't prodded to think positive thoughts.

The paper provides support for newer forms of psychotherapy that urge people to accept their negative thoughts and feelings rather than fight them. In the fighting, we not only often fail but can make things worse. Meditation techniques, in contrast, can teach people to put their shortcomings into a larger, more realistic perspective. Call it the power of negative thinking. ■

## WEB WATCH

# eHow to Make Money. Turn expertise into cash



This is no get-rich-quick scheme. But eHow.com, whose popularity has soared during the recession as DIYers seek advice on topics like "How to Run Bathroom Plumbing," will pay any Joe Blow for content. All writers are

welcome, regardless of expertise or ability to string sentences together. Since 2007, the site has paid its Everyman scribes more than \$1 million. A single how-to might net all of \$20 a year, but the prolific can earn much more. Maria O'Brien, a

stay-at-home mom in northern Virginia, has written 367 (and counting) articles, for which eHow deposits some \$1,500 a month into her PayPal account. "The stories are not hard to write," she says. "A few hundred words total and

you're done." Pay is based on page views, subject matter and user ratings. The more accurate and engaging the articles, the better the ratings. So it pays, dear authors, to write about what you know.

—BY BRAD TUTTLE ■



I ♥ my friends

I ♥ my family

I ♥ good news

I ♥ my mom

I ♥ learning

I ♥ my mom

I ♥ my h

I ♥ life.

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I ♥ Jill

I ♥ Sundays

I ♥ my sister

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I ♥ laughter

I ♥ a good fight

I ♥ my daughter

I ♥ my kids

I ♥ silver linings

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EXHIBITIONS, PAGE 59

# Arts

MOVIES EXHIBITIONS SHORT LIST



## MOVIES

**Dark Knights.** In *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, teen turmoil propels our hero and his foes toward a fateful climax

BY RICHARD CORLISS

THE MOOD IS DARK. DEATH EATERS BLIGHT the skies, sent on their sorties by the fiendish Lord Voldemort, and in *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, a grim fate encircles one teenage boy like a noose around his soul. The adult he reveres most in the world has given him a mission to destroy a hugely powerful wizard, yet as he gazes in a mirror, the quivering face staring back at him

belies his resolve to do the deed. It's a dreadful burden on someone barely out of childhood, in his sixth year at Hogwarts. Will Draco Malfoy be able to do Voldemort's bidding and kill Albus Dumbledore?

From the publication of the first *Harry Potter* book in 1997 to the final volume a decade later, J.K. Rowling's septet of adventures has enchanted tens of millions of kids, their older siblings and all those adults who are as fascinated by the wizarding world as

any child. The books held many delights for the very young: the Quidditch matches, magical beasts and wand work. But as Harry and his classmates entered puberty, Rowling began to address a time of grand and awful responsibilities, the transformation of the body before the mind is ready, the queasy realization that every decision can

**Dynamic duo** *Dumbledore* (Gambon) and *Harry* (Radcliffe) join forces

have ecstatic or cataclysmic consequences. In a word, adolescence.

The *Potter* film adaptations, after a sub-par start in late 2001, have grown in richness and power until, in aggregate, they stand close to the summit of multipart movies—more sprawling if less artistically ambitious than *The Lord of the Rings*, more consistently intelligent though less original than the six *Star Wars* films. By the time the series is completed with a two-part telling of *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, due to open in November 2010 and July 2011, its release cycle will be nearly as long as the 10 years Rowling took to publish her books.

Beyond its longevity records and the billions it has amassed in box-office and DVD revenues, the *Harry Potter* series is a proud,

the girls they're mad for, it's to acknowledge vaguely that they have "nice skin." And when our hero's notoriety makes the Hogwarts girls just wild about Harry, his friend-girl Hermione (Emma Watson) can't suppress a little sulfur puff of rancor. "She's only interested in you," Hermione snits about one lass, "because she thinks you're the Chosen One." Harry's playful reply has a matter-of-fact finality: "I am the Chosen One." That's his honor, curse and destiny.

### Father Figures

THREE OTHER HOGWARTS BOYS—ONE IN the present, two from the past—have virtually the same burden: they've been chosen to play crucial roles in the great conflict. One shadowy figure is a student whose old,

image histories, so Harry and Draco (Tom Felton) here become like twins. One is good, one corrupted, but each is bent on avenging his father by annihilating the adult who killed or exiled him. (The story is really about the risks boys take for the grownups whose favor they cherish.) In earlier chapters, Draco was simply the upper-class bully. Now that he's Voldemort's chosen one, there's fear in his sneer. When he nears the man he's supposed to murder, he blurts out, "I have to kill you, or he's gonna kill me"—and you can feel sympathy for the devil's disciple.

With most parents (except for Draco's mother and the Weasleys) absent from the action, the Hogwarts teachers are the guardians of youth. They're not all suited to

## Box-Office Magic. Five films, \$4.5 billion from theaters so far



**2001**  
**Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone**  
Worldwide box office:  
\$974,733,550



**2002**  
**Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets**  
Worldwide box office:  
\$878,643,482



**2004**  
**Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban**  
Worldwide box office:  
\$795,634,069



**2005**  
**Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire**  
Worldwide box office:  
\$895,921,036



**2007**  
**Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix**  
Worldwide box office:  
\$938,212,738

mammoth act of commercial, communal filmmaking. It's Hollywood at its finest, though the setting, accent, ensemble cast and most of the creative team are—as with the James Bond films—distinctly English.

With *Half-Blood Prince*, again we have a talisman, satisfying visualization of the Rowling cosmos. Screenwriter Steve Kloves (his fifth *Potter* script) and director David Yates, the BBC veteran (*State of Play*, *Sex Traffic*) who also helmed *Order of the Phoenix*, concoct a potent brew of horror and romance, in which the supercool special effects—notably a swoopy-cam ride with the Death Eaters as they soar over London's monuments and through its creepiest streets—never obscure a commitment to the book's central theme. True to Rowling's portrayal of the teen experience, the film is almost wholly occupied with school: the business of getting good grades (sometimes by cheating) and the influence of inspiring or maleficent teachers. Plus, of course, sex.

That's sex in a very PG, *Potter* fashion. The "snogging" engaged in by the 16-year-olds has a chaste, comic choreography, as if kissing were a minut of locked lips. When Harry (Daniel Radcliffe) and his pal Ron Weasley (Rupert Grint) talk furtively about

annotated schoolbook, marked PROPERTY OF THE HALF BLOOD PRINCE, helps Harry ace his potions course and perform some vital magic. The other, seen in flashbacks, is the brilliant, troubling Tom Riddle, Voldemort to be, whom Dumbledore (Michael Gambon) recruits from an orphanage to Hogwarts. As played at 11 by Hero Fiennes Tiffin (a nephew of Ralph Fiennes, the series' Voldemort) and at 16 by Frank Dillane, the lad emits a smooth, brooding dark-star quality that makes you wish there were a parallel group of coming-of-age books about You Know Who—Darth Vader to Harry's Luke Skywalker. As other boys face the surge of puberty, so Tom and Harry feel a thrill and a shiver at the dawning recognition of their immense powers.

And as Harry and Tom have mirror-

the job; some are foolish, some sinister. The new teacher, Horace Slughorn (Jim Broadbent), runs a salon for his pet students. An incorrigible name dropper, he "collects" children whose talent or connections might bring him glory. The resentful Snape (Alan Rickman, effortlessly oily), whose motives have been murky but whom Dumbledore continues to trust, becomes Draco's surrogate dad: snake for snake.

The deepest kinship, man to boy, is Dumbledore's with Harry. From the start, when the dean of wizards puts a protective arm around Harry, to the probing trips they take through time and space, Dumbledore is Harry's true godfather—a role into which the great Gambon pours his craggy majesty and cello voice. One might wish that their visit to Voldemort's cave had the shuddering poignancy it does in the book, where a weakened Dumbledore tells his protégé, "I am not worried, Harry. I am with you." But their scenes together cast a lingering spell.

In the final films, the boy will grow into the holy warrior. Those climactic works couldn't have a stronger prelude than *Half-Blood Prince*—an evocation, not leering but knowing, of adolescence under siege. ■

**The Harry Potter series is a proud, mammoth act of commercial, communal filmmaking. It's Hollywood at its finest**





Tribulations of Saint Anthony, 1887

## EXHIBITIONS

**Skull and Bones.** In his very strange and compelling art, James Ensor created a world haunted by death and lit by fire

BY RICHARD LACAYO

THE BELGIAN PAINTER JAMES ENSOR IS THE outsider artist who made it in. An isolated and splenetic man, contemptuous of both authority and the human herd, always feuding with the world and licking his wounds, he ended up all the same with money, royal honors and a secure if peculiar foothold in art history. There's a major Ensor show at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City this summer. It focuses just on work from the two decades after 1880, when he was in his 20s and 30s, but, no surprise, those were the years we love him for, when Ensor got deeply in touch with his inner oddball.

The son of a transplanted Englishman, Ensor spent almost his entire life in the Belgian seaside resort of Ostend, working

in an attic studio above his family's souvenir and novelty shop, a place crammed with seashells, stuffed fish, old books and the Flemish carnival masks that crowd so many of his canvases. His only long absence from the city began in 1877, when he headed to Brussels and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, trying and failing to become the academic painter he was never suited to be. Three years later, he was back in Ostend, making highly capable portraits, still lifes and domestic interiors and looking very likely to end up a lifelong observer of the bourgeois home front, a Belgian equivalent of Vuillard or Bonnard.

But in the mid-1880s, some bomb went off in his brain. Ensor started experimenting with pencil drawing, teasing out a jittery, evaporating line that could dissolve form into boiling clouds of light. He ap-


plied it for a while to religious subjects weirdly poised between the sacred and the profane. Christ before an uncomprehending contemporary crowd was a favorite. That's also the subject of his most famous painting, *Christ's Entry into Brussels* in 1889. A cartoonish cacophony of marching bands and lurid faces, it's a mob scene straight out of *South Park*. (Unfortunately it's not included in the MOMA show, which was organized by assistant curator Anna Swinburne, because the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, which owns the picture, doesn't let it travel.)

Early in the 1880s, when his paintings were being excluded from the official salons, Ensor co-founded an alliance of Belgian avant-gardists. Les Vingt—the Twenty—held an annual salon of its own that solicited work from foreign artists including Monet, Renoir and Whistler. In 1887, Georges Seurat contributed nothing less than *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte*, a tour de force of early modern art. Properly dazzled, a good number of the Twenty became converts to Seurat's pointillism. This was too much for Ensor. He had

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Masks Mocking Death, 1888

already dismissed the Impressionists. Who cared about capturing fugitive sunlight when you could be trying to pin down hellfire? Seurat's shimmering neo-Impressionism looked no better to him. What Ensor wanted was an art that could reach into his interior life, which must have been quite a place, or serve his feverish critique of his times.

And what would that kind of art look like? In that same year, he provided one answer in *Tribulations of Saint Anthony*, a pandemonium crammed with the kind of scribble-srawl images the world would not see again until Cy Twombly came along more than six decades later. Around this time, Ensor also started bringing his masks and skeletons out to play on a regular basis. From then on, personal and social relations in his work would be a dark comedy, performed in disguise and in party colors, with the Grim Reaper making regular entrances to rattle his bones in your face. It's a spook show too tawdry to be frightening, one that takes place in threadbare rooms and in rag-barrel costumes, but that's the point. In Ensor the dramas of existence are mostly shabby ones. In *Masks Mocking Death*, even death

is just another lowlife, a target of scorn—though he looks as if he knows he's going to get the last laugh.

Ensor drew lessons in form and color from Turner, Courbet and Manet, but the spirit of his work, the mad afflatus of his gift, owes more to the Germans. His devils are inherited from Bosch and Brueghel. His taste for the grotesque traces back to Grünewald. He, in turn, would hand on his caustic vision of humanity to the German Expressionists, younger artists like Emil Nolde and Ernst Kirchner who saw the possibilities in his combination of sour disposition and strident palette.

Chronically aggrieved, Ensor was the sort of man who didn't hesitate to draw himself as Christ crucified or, better, as a pickled herring being pulled apart by two art critics represented as skulls. Perhaps because he never expected his work to be accepted, he could pursue it to its furthest conclusions. But then—surprise—the honors started coming his way anyway. Museums began acquiring his art and offering him big shows. In 1929, Belgium's King Albert I even named him a baron, which makes you wonder if Albert had ever seen Ensor's etching of a king defecating on the heads of the people. By the time Ensor died, in 1949, he was a national treasure—which can only mean the Belgians must be awfully good sports. And that they knew an odd genius when they saw one. Even if it's true that after 1900 he was increasingly a spent force, for two feverish decades, Ensor was a force to be reckoned with. ■

**What Ensor wanted was an art that could reach into his interior life or serve his feverish critique of his times**


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# Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



**1** DVD

## Anita O'Day: The Life of a Jazz Singer

The Jezebel of Jazz lived a life as hot as her phrasing was cool. Doctors declared her dead after a heroin overdose, but she survived and kept testifying in song for 40 more years, until her death at 87. This superb 2007 doc has all the O'Day highs and lows recalled by the star with salty, unapologetic clarity.

**2** PERFORMANCE

## Joseph Gordon-Levitt

In the mixed-bag romantic comedy (500) Days of Summer, he's acute and at ease as the world's sunniest obsessive. A former child sitcom actor, he was the teen tec in *Brick* and next appears in *G.I. Joe*. Can Hollywood take a Shia LaBeouf break and make Gordon-Levitt a star?

**3** TELEVISION

## Torchwood: Children of Earth

BBC America's *Doctor Who* spin-off tells its most chilling story yet in this five parter (nightly, beginning July 20). Civilization spirals toward chaos as a force takes over the minds of the world's children to deliver a message: "We are coming." You won't be able to leave.

**4** DVD

## Watchmen: Director's Cut

Zack Snyder's take on the grail of graphic novels came into theaters big and went out fast. Now with 26 minutes added for a two-disc DVD, the movie is more lucid and lurid (Hollis Mason gets a great send-off) and at three hours is the inventive, reverent achievement it was meant to be.

**5** BOOK

## Twenties Girl

Lara Lington's start-up is sputtering, and she has just become an ex-girlfriend. Her great-aunt Sadie has problems too: she has just become an ex-person. Chick-lit high priestess Sophie Kinsella's latest is a ghost story, but like everything she writes, it's warm and lively.



## Jeremy Piven's Short List

Piven has just returned for the new season of HBO's *Entourage*, in which his portrayal of ruthless uber-agent Ari Gold has won him three Emmys and a Golden Globe. His new film, *The Goods*, will be out Aug. 14. When Piven isn't in character barking at an underling, you might spot him going Zen or flexing his thumbs on Twitter.

### When Mom met Michelle

I was lucky enough to introduce Barack Obama at his postcampaign party in my hometown of Chicago. Backstage afterward, my mother, who co-founded the Piven Theatre Workshop with my dad, grabbed Michelle's taut arms and said, "Please, please don't forget about the arts."

### Sweet on Tweets

I'm not on the information superhighway too much. I'm kind of a technology caveman. Yet somehow I am in the belly of the beast on Twitter daily. I actually had to buy my name back, so you can follow me @jeremypiven. Imagine that. I tried to get Dick Cheney's name, but it was already taken.

### Anchored humor

You can't turn on *SportsCenter* without hearing the movie *Anchorman* quoted. Adam McKay, who wrote and directed it, has a way of showing the absurdity of totally privileged characters. No one is better at exploring a scene and letting it continue until it becomes totally absurd.

### Zen fix

Chris Prentiss's *Zen and the Art of Happiness* is filled with great take-out ideas that have actually been around for 3,000 years, like this one: "To find perfect composure in the midst of change is to find Nirvana."

### Comedy with legs

Watching *Monty Python* as a kid, I was blown away by how original the sketches were. The culture they were exploring was different, but I never felt alienated. Really smart lowbrow comedy. Still something devoutly to be wished for.



### Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to [time.com/entertainment](http://time.com/entertainment)

By Richard Corliss, Amy Lennard Goehner, Lev Grossman and James Poniewozik



Joel

## Stein

## Jesus Walks into a Bar. What's funny at Rick Warren's Saddleback Church? Poop jokes, of course

THERE ARE MANY THINGS EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS ARE good at, such as bake sales and talking to me on planes. They're less adept at other things, such as comedy and fighting lions. Christians aren't funny because they tend to be literal-minded. Also because they're sad about having had sex with only one person. So when Kevin Roose, author of the excellent new book *The Unlikely Disciple*, told me that Rick Warren's giant Saddleback Church has its own improv group, for the first time in my life, I felt my calling. I may not be the Woody Allen or Jon Stewart of the secular world, but in the land of the unfunny Christian, the one-joked Jew is king.

I called improv-troupe leader Ron Ruhman and asked if I could perform with the group at one of their monthly Saturday-night shows. He graciously invited me out. And then graciously asked me to try not to curse onstage. I arrived at the college-campus-size Orange County church on a Saturday afternoon. After being taught various improv games with the five members of the troupe, none of which involved the Bible or moral lessons, I asked them what the difference was between secular and Christian improv. "We're dirtier," said Jeremy Bryan Barnes. When he explained why they weren't doing Christian comedy.

"When we started, we'd get requests from groups to do jokes about Noah. But it wasn't fun. We'd work too hard to work in Noah. It's our job to entertain." Their goal, Barnes explained, was to give people a way to get friends to the church who have turned down an invitation to a service. This made sense until I thought about the kind of person who would say, "I'm not interested in eternal salvation, but I'd love to spend a Saturday night in a small conference room watching Christian improvisational comedy!"

After we prayed about some burgers and then ate some burgers, a troupe member took me to the worship center to see the end of the sermon being given by Warren, who apparently was our warm-up act. He did not make me laugh once. Then as the full house of 160 took their seats in a small meeting room next to the church, we gathered to pray about our performance. Preshow praying, as most professional comedians will tell you, is not quite as confidence-building as shots of Cuervo.

Here is what goes through your mind during 90 minutes of Christian improv: "No, no, can't say that, nope,

maybe if... no." In response to a game in which we had to communicate a murder scenario to one another in gibberish, our audience shouted its increasingly bland ideas with fervor: "Turtle!" "Balloon!" "IHOP!" "Bowling!" When one sinner yelled "Uranus!" our troupe member repeated it as "Urahnus." We even had to change the classic "guy walks into a bar, and the bartender says" scenario into "guy walks into a restaurant, and the manager says." This was one tight ahnus-ed group.

That said, Christian audiences will laugh at anything, since they are either so nice or so unaware of any entertainment other than *Seventh Heaven*. Puns proved to be a big hit, as was anything involving eating or pooping. My troupe mates were impressively funny within those boundaries, but after a while, I couldn't take the comedy shackles. During a version of the game *Jeopardy!*, someone shouted the answer "Milk!" to which I nervously buzzed in with "What is a movie they'd never play at this church?" To my relief, this got a laugh. So when we had to make up rhyming greeting cards for imaginary events and an audience member yelled out "Going to an improv show!" I said, "Improv is scary to do! Especially when the whole audience wants to convert you."

Afterward, lots of supernice Christian people complimented my Christian-bashing jokes, including Tony Guerrero, Saddleback's director of creative arts, who also throws a jazz and Shakespeare festival at the church. I asked him what exactly the point of all this was, and he said, "If you look back in history, most of the arts were done for the church. All the music of Bach and Mozart was written for the church. We'd like it to be a hub for the arts again." Even back in the Renaissance, for every Michelangelo, there were probably five guys on a stage desperately trying to come up with poop jokes.

And while Saddleback gets criticized for being plush—with its on-campus sand volleyball courts, skateboard park and concert theater—and straying from its central missions of proselytizing and charity, I think it's great that the congregation is branching out. I want there to be more kinds of comedy and music and art. I'm just glad I'm not one of the poor Evangelicals who let themselves see only Christian versions of those things. Because I can't be there every month to save the show. ■





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**BREAK IN  
YOUR JEANS**

\* Abbreviated Rules. No Text ("txt") or Purchase Necessary To Enter/Win. PIN-Based & International Transactions Ineligible. Texting or Purchasing Will Not Increase Odds of Winning. Begins 7/1/09, 12:00 PM CT. Ends 8/31/09, 11:59 PM CT. "Phone Period": Open to legal US residents, 18+. To Enter: Complete digital online entry at [www.priceless.com](http://www.priceless.com) per instructions. Limit 1 online entry per person per day. 25 Standard Text Telephone Numbers Added to WIN/PURCH. Standard text message charges apply & vary per carrier. Call center for pricing services and toll-free entry. Limit 1 entry per person per day. 310,000,000 Possible Entries. 1 entry per MasterCard purchase & 1 additional entry per Phone Period purchase. Air & Enter without purchase 2 entries. Hand print name, complete mailing address, age, phone & email. "MasterCard Break in Your Jeans Sweepstakes" (or "J&S") paper & mail in reward, stamped & hand printed in envelope to: Break in Your Jeans, P.O. Box 1111, Englewood, CO 80155. Enter deadline as you wish by mail, but no entry must be mailed separately & no later than 8/31/09. Winners selected individually during Drawings. First Prize winners from all eligible entries: Purchase Online, M&M mail rec'd during Phone Period & Weekly Prize winners from all eligible entries rec'd as follows: Period 1 Purchases, Online & Tel 7/1/09-7/15/09; Mail rec'd by 7/15/09 & Drawing 7/22/09; Period 2 Purchases, Online & Tel 7/16/09-7/21/09; Mail rec'd by 7/21/09 & Drawing 7/28/09; Period 3 Purchases, Online & Tel 7/22/09-7/27/09; Mail rec'd by 7/27/09 & Drawing 8/3/09; Period 4 Purchases, Online & Tel 7/28/09-7/31/09; Mail rec'd by 7/31/09 & Drawing 8/7/09. Period 5 Purchases, Online & Tel 8/1/09-8/5/09; Mail rec'd by 8/5/09 & Drawing 8/12/09. Period 6 Purchases, Online & Tel 8/6/09-8/10/09; Mail rec'd by 8/10/09 & Drawing 8/17/09. Period 7 Purchases, Online & Tel 8/11/09-8/15/09; Mail rec'd by 8/15/09 & Drawing 8/22/09. Period 8 Purchases, Online & Tel 8/16/09-8/20/09; Mail rec'd by 8/20/09 & Drawing 8/27/09. Period 9 Purchases, Online & Tel 8/21/09-8/25/09; Mail rec'd by 8/25/09 & Drawing 9/1/09. & Period 10 Purchases, Online & Tel 8/26/09-8/31/09; Mail rec'd by 8/31/09 & Drawing 9/7/09. Entries received per Period due 1 transfer to subsequent drawings. **Prizes:** (1) Break in Your Jeans 2009 Trip to Break in Your Jeans, 3-5 day 4-night trip to 1 of 10 single destination Mass. Airfare - \$3,000, 2009 Trip to Break in Your Jeans, 3-5 day 4-night weekend getaway to 1 of 10, 10 provided by American Airlines with max \$1,500 per person. (2) Trip awarded as Youth Golf Prodigy & Free Weekend Night award Mass Airfare - \$3,000. Total APV for all prizes - \$900,000. Odds of winning depend on number of eligible entries rec'd for applicable drawing. Taxes, winners' responsibility, void where prohibited. Travel & other restrictions apply. For full rules including prize & other details, visit [www.priceless.com](http://www.priceless.com) or call 1-800-MC-ASSETS. MasterCard, the MasterCard Brand Mark, and processes are registered trademarks of MasterCard International Incorporated. ©2009 MasterCard. All Rights Reserved. **Sponsor:** MasterCard International Incorporated, 2000 Purchase Street, Purchase, NY 10577. **Promoter:** Project Support Team, Inc., 6 Resolute Blvd., Delford, CT 06830. [www.ProjectSupportTeam.com](http://www.ProjectSupportTeam.com)



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Sally Ride, first American woman in space.

Buzz Aldrin, Apollo 11, first steps on the moon in 1969.

Jim Lovell, Apollo 13, commander.

LOUIS VUITTON